# TWO-FOLD SLAVERY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY

MARSHALL HALL,

M.D. F.R.S. &c.

S. G. & E. L. ELBERT

BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

THE CROONIAN LECTURES, DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, IN 1850, 1851 AND 1852, ON

## THE SPINAL SYSTEM.

PREPARING FOR THE PRESS:

## PHYSIOLOGY

IN THE CLINICAL WARD AND THE SICK-ROOM;
FOR THE MEDICAL STUDENT.

# THE TWO-FOLD SLAVERY

OF

# THE UNITED STATES.

# MAP OF THE SLAVERY OF THE UNITED STATES.

*The depth of its shade represents the degree of Slavery in the Several States* (See page 39)

## the 18 Slave States.

| | N° of Slaves |
|---|---|
| Virginia | 472,528 |
| S^th Carolina | 384,984 |
| Georgia | 381,682 |
| Alabama | 342,892 |
| Mississippi | 309,878 |
| N^th Carolina | 288,548 |
| Louisiana | 244,809 |
| Tennessee | 239,460 |
| Kentucky | 210,981 |
| (MD) Maryland | 90,368 |
| Missouri | 87,422 |
| Texas | 58,161 |
| Arkansas | 47,100 |
| Florida | 39,309 |
| District of Colombia | 3,687 |
| (DEL) Delaware | 2,290 |
| (N.J.) New Jersey | 236 |

John Dower Sc.

# THE TWO-FOLD SLAVERY

OF

# THE UNITED STATES:

WITH

## A PROJECT OF SELF-EMANCIPATION;

BY

MARSHALL HALL, M.D., F.R.S.; &c.

WITH TWO MAPS.

LONDON:
ADAM SCOTT, CHARTERHOUSE SQUARE.
1854.

"There is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery. But there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by *legislative authority*."

WASHINGTON, *in a letter to* ROBERT MORRIS.

"La Fayette remarked, in his last visit, with astonishment, the aggravation of the prejudices against the blacks; and states, that, in the revolutionary war, the black and white soldiers messed together without hesitation."

JAY, *on Slavery*, 1853.

*Let the religious people in the United States do their duty, and Slavery and the Second Slavery will cease from that hour!*

ANON.

# DEDICATION.

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To MARSHALL HALL, Jun. Esq.

My dear Son,

I dedicate these pages to you, the companion of my travels in the United States. You were witness to all my anxieties for the poor African race, and to the formation of the plan of Self-Emancipation about to be developed.

Remember with me, and with every loyal American, the simple but emphatic words of Washington.

Your most affectionate Father,

MARSHALL HALL.

*London, August 15th,* 1854.

*** The fact of these pages having been written to different persons, at different times, will account for occasional repetitions of the same idea. I have thought it better to leave this defect, than to alter the original manuscripts. An idea so repeated at distant intervals must assuredly have been one which from its importance had made a vivid impression on the writer's mind.

# PREFATORY ADDRESS

TO

# THE PLANTERS AND THE MEMBERS

OF THE

# SOUTHERN STATES LEGISLATURES

IN

# THE UNITED STATES.

GENTLEMEN,

I take the liberty of addressing these Letters to you, because from you, I believe, all good to the poor African people in the United States must originate. With your interests, with your estates, with your families, they and their condition are indissolubly linked and bound up; from your kindness and generosity, and sense of justice, any peaceful, beneficent, and momentous change in their condition must flow.

I have frequently heard it observed by you, that Slavery is a great evil; but that it is an inheritance which you have received from England, and now know not how to dismiss from your soil; and that you would gladly adopt any measure which would have this effect, if such a measure could be devised.

Believing in and relying upon this assurance, I earnestly submit to your consideration the details and the suggestions which the following Letters unfold. Being addressed in idea to you, they cannot contain an offensive word. They are written with the most sincere good wishes for your reputation throughout the world, and for your welfare at home. I trust you will receive them in good part and with cordiality. If a benevolent American were to come to this country, and to point out, in a friendly spirit (such a spirit as shall pervade these Letters), all that is wrong here, with its remedy, I, at least, would hail his visit and efforts as those of a benefactor.

Believe me,

GENTLEMEN,

Your sincere well-wisher,

THE AUTHOR.

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# PART FIRST.

## LETTERS.

# THE TWO-FOLD SLAVERY

OF

# THE UNITED STATES.

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## LETTER I.

*The Slavery and Second Slavery of the United States; Abolition; Colonization; Perpetual Slavery; Self-Emancipation.*

* * * * * *

I HAVE, during nearly fifteen months spent in the United States, directed all my attention to the condition of the African race in that land of liberty, so-called. I have during this period four times crossed the States between their eastern and western points, in their mean and extreme latitudes; and I have visited Canada and Cuba. I wished to see and judge for myself. I wished to behold the poor African in all his positions and in all his conditions:—in his state of freedom in Canada; in his bondage to a popular prejudice and a cruel oppression in the northern, and in his slavery under a legal institution in the southern, States; and in his worse than United States' bondage under the yoke imposed by Spanish law or custom in Cuba.

I soon perceived that the question was not one of mere *slavery*, as that term is usually employed; but that there is a *second* slavery of the free or emancipated African in the United States, severer, in certain respects, even than the first,—a slavery to which too little attention has hitherto been paid.

In effect, the African in the *slavery* of the United States is usually so well cared for, that he is for the most part, according to the expression of Henry Clay, 'fat and sleek,' and his numbers increase in a higher ratio than those of the European; whilst the African said to be *free* is so crushed by State legislation and popular prejudice and oppression as to provide for himself and family through extreme difficulties, and is at once wretched individually and scarcely increases his numbers as a race;—facts of the most affecting interest.

Much, therefore, as has been said of *Abolition*, I can scarcely regard it, under existing circumstances, as a boon to the poor African in the United States.

Slavery at least feeds and clothes its unhappy victims, so that *animal* life is supported and perpetuated. It is only when the slave is viewed as an intellectual being—as *Man*, in a word—that his degradation, his ignorance, his privation of holy marriage and of parental rights, his subjection to the infliction of the lash, his exposure to public sale by auction, and his treatment for the sake of offspring in the "breeding States," stand forth in all their enormity.

The question in regard to slavery in the United States is essentially a question of religion and of

conscience. Any other lower view of the subject is utterly unworthy of its magnitude and importance, in itself, and in its relation to three millions and a half (3,638,808) of our fellow men and brethren, the coloured people in the United States, and to the character of a great nation.

It will be perceived, as I proceed, that this high and conscientious view of the subject is happily not incompatible with the best interests of the European in the United States, and of the country at large.

Unprepared abolition, I repeat, would be no boon to the African slave in the United States. It would, alone, only lead to the second slavery to which I have adverted, even if the freed slave was perfectly well-conducted. Might it not also lead to ruin of both planter and estate?

Besides, it is statistically true that, during the period of the abolition agitation, the increase of the number of the *slaves* has been regular and fearful, whilst that of the *free*, so-called, has rapidly diminished. What then has this abolition accomplished? Nothing! And, at this very moment, *nothing* is being done for the poor African race in the United States.

As to *Colonization*, it is utterly inadequate to the eradication of slavery: in the year 1850, 562 coloured persons were sent by the Colonization Society to Liberia. In the same year, 8169 (nearly *fifteen* times 562) were added to the slave population of the United States, by the excess of births over the deaths. It is obvious, therefore, that emigration to Liberia can never overtake

the mere natural increase of the African race; far less can it remove the present number of that race in the United States, with its increase. During the thirty years of the existence of the Colonization movement, about 10,000 free Africans have been conveyed away. But 3,638,808 of the African race, including 3,204,313 slave and 434,495 free, exist in the United States and Territories, a number which, without increase, it would require three centuries and a half to convey away at the same rate.

The scheme of Colonization, therefore, bears no proportion to its object, if that object be—emancipation of the African slave and his removal from the United States.

But, even admitting that the deportation of the African race from the United States were possible, that race cannot be *spared;* it is essential to the cultivation of the cotton-plant, the sugar-cane, and the rice-field.

Abolition and Colonization then are equally out of the question. Not less so, I believe, is the deliberate view of the *Perpetuation* of slavery.

Such a view is immediately met by a great difficulty. The slaves of the United States are now accumulated in the southern or slave States, the northern States having emancipated themselves from slavery. The principal slave States are Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, below Mason and Dixon's line. In these States, the numbers of the European are less than in the

northern States. In several, the African race bears a large proportion to the European, and in two, South Carolina and Mississippi, actually exceeds it. In addition to this large proportional number of the African slaves, it must be remembered that they augment their numbers, by natural increase, more rapidly than the European. This fact is emphatically stated by Dr. Chickering of Boston, Massachusetts, in a late admirable paper, though advocating the delusive scheme of Colonization, in De Bow's Review for August 1853. It is further shown by the subjoined interesting Table, compiled from the Census of 1850, on which I propose to give an ample commentary in a future Letter:

*Increase per Cent. of the Population of the United States.*

| From 1790 to | Whites. | Slaves. | Free Coloured. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1800 | 35,6828 | 27,9617 | 82,2806 |
| 1810 | 36,1835 | 33,4053 | 72,0006 |
| 1820 | 34,1169 | 29,0989 | 27,7345 |
| 1830 | 34,0303 | 30,6237 | 34,1973 |
| 1840 | 34,7175 | 23,8129 | 20,8712 |
| 1850 | 37,7394 | 28,8189 | 12,4752 |

By a cursory glance at this table, we learn a whole history of the influence of immigration, natural increase, and moral influences on the triple population of the United States. The increase of the European from the first and second has been uniform; that of the African was greatest in the decennium between 1800

and 1810, the slave trade having ceased in 1808; and that of the free coloured was greatest between 1790 and 1810, under the influence of revolutionary feeling, and least between 1830 and 1850, under that of the abolition agitation.

The result of these facts is, that in the course of time the African race will acquire, in the southern States, an overwhelming and dangerous numerical majority over the European. This event cannot be long delayed even. The number of the African is doubled in a period of time between 25 and 30 years. Their present number is, as I have already stated, 3,638,808. In little more than half a century this number will be quadrupled, and attain that of fourteen millions; and in a little more than a century it will be upwards of fifty millions!

Is there not revealed in these views a fearful future, not very remote? And, should not the planter bethink himself how the impending evil may be averted? This cannot be done either by Abolition or Colonization. The former would not diminish the number of the African race in the United States, and could only act by diffusing it over the so-called free States, and subjecting it to a second slavery. The latter, as I have already said, could only remove a very inadequate number. And, lastly, the African race cannot, as I have also said, be spared from the cotton- the sugar- and the rice-fields of the southern States.

Pressed by all these difficulties, or rather impossi-

bilities, what is to be done to remove this giant evil of slavery—of the two-fold slavery, for such it is—from the United States?

Happily, I believe, I have a well-matured proposition to make to effect this great object, a proposition as effectual as that object is momentous and grand:—It is that of a plan of SELF-EMANCIPATION—so framed as to strike at the very root of all slavery, eradicating at once its degradation, its ignorance, its injustice, and its irreligion.

I propose that a system of education, and discipline, and preparation be adopted; that a just and generous premium be placed on each slave; that task-work and over-work be appointed him, in the place of day-work; that he be led by this means to achieve his own emancipation, the wages for his over-work being secured, with liberal interest, in Savings' banks; that his efforts be seconded by the generosity of others; that when the sum appointed is thus accumulated, it be paid over to his master by the proper authorities, and that he be declared—free! That, when free, he be retained, if he desire it, in his former position, receiving just wages.

The African race, in the United States, will thus become—*the finest peasantry in the world*,—and be the glory instead of the shame of the country.

From the very *moment* even that this plan is properly and fully promulgated by law, there will no longer exist in the United States any other than a voluntary slavery; and the voluntary slave is at once unworthy and incapable of freedom!

When thus self-emancipated, the slave will not only be free, but educated, and disciplined, and elevated in character. Self-emancipation has this advantage over abolition, that, whilst it frees, it prepares for freedom; and that, whilst it confers freedom on the slave, it brings no ruin on the planter or his estate. It has this advantage over ordinary manumission, that, whilst it achieves freedom, it entails no necessity for removal from the plantation where the achievement is made. The slave becomes more valuable even than before, as a free and more active cultivator of the soil is more valuable than the lash-driven slave.

The first object of self-emancipation, after the attainment of freedom, is—elevation in character and conduct. This will inspire proportionate respect. European prejudice and oppression will cease, and the poor African will no longer suffer from a second slavery, when emancipated from the first. He will excel in certain useful arts. He will accummulate wealth; for many of his race have done so. And, without amalgamation, which I by no means contemplate, he will attain just rank in society, as a man, a rightful husband and parent, and a citizen.

In the scheme of self-emancipation no interests are overlooked or neglected. The feeble and infirm will not be able to emancipate themselves; they will remain, as at present, under their masters' 'patriarchal' care. But the able will reimburse the planter the cost of his slave, and, I am persuaded, become to him a servant of even greater money value. For it is no longer necessary

to prove that free-labour is more energetic and productive than slave-labour, that wages are a better stimulus to industry than the lash.

And what shall I say of the national honour? What American will not rejoice to have the stain and the sin of slavery, with its degradation, its adultery, its cruelty too—for there *is* cruelty in the slavery of the United States,—removed from his native land and home for ever?

There is still another object to be secured—the permanency of the Union, which all acknowledge to be endangered by the fact of slavery in one-half of the United States.

I propose to discuss each of the topics briefly noticed on this occasion, with others, in succession, in subsequent Letters. The subject is all-important in a philanthropic and economical point of view, and I trust my observations may not be without their value and interest to my readers in both hemispheres.

## LETTER II.

*Slavery in the United States: its Ignorance; its Degradation; the Want of Holy Marriage, and of Parental Rights; Servile War?*

* * * * * *

THERE are in the United States three millions and a half of slaves. The population of London and its environs within several miles of the Post-office is two millions and a half. You will readily form an idea of the extreme number of the African race now in a state of slavery.

This slavery is such, that its poor victim does not, as a rule, know the letters of the alphabet, or the simplest figures; he is deprived of the tie of holy and indissoluble marriage, and of parental rights; and he is, in a physical, and moral, and religious point of view, in a state of the utmost degradation.

This degradation is such, that the poor slave has been known not unfrequently to prefer his slavery to freedom. This degradation has in its turn been urged against the poor African race, as if it were not the simple *effect* of the simplest *cause*—the privation of all education.

The three millions and a half of slaves occupy the

southern States. The more southern of them may be regarded as vast prisons, the limits of which no slave may pass. Within these are the plantations, each of which is, in its turn, a minor prison—carcer in carcere —frequently separated by many miles.

The same monotony reigns from morning to night, and from one week, month, and year to another! It is only relieved by the meanest fiddle and that mockery of the guitar, the banjo. This pastime is often encouraged by the master, though some of the slaves reject it; but the nature of the African is to be musical, and most of them delight in noise and dance.

The food and clothing of the slave are sufficient to maintain life and health. Regarded as an animal, he is, according to the derogatory expression of Henry Clay, 'fat and sleek.' It is when viewed as *Man*, that his condition is seen to be degrading, all sources of improvement and elevation being forcibly cut off.

This degradation is essential to slavery. Education is incompatible with it. None but the grossest ignorance will submit to it. Knowledge lights the spark and flame of liberty. To teach a slave is prohibited by State laws under the severest penalties. The planter, or his wife, or his daughters, *may not* instruct their slave, although I must, in justice, say that I have met with some who infringe this cruel law, and kindly give instruction to their household slaves.

Slavery is not less binding on the master than on the slave. The former may not teach his slave; may not freely give freedom to his slave. I have already

said that to teach a slave is a crime punishable by law. In order to give a slave his freedom, it must be provided that he do not become burdensome to the State, and, in some States—Kentucky, for example,—that he leave the State within a limited period.

And what moral bondage does not slavery entail on the slave-owner and his family? The very mind is warped. The slave-owner is bound *not* to perceive in an individual of the African race a fellow-man and a brother, a human being, capable of elevation, of personal rights, of holy marriage, of parental ties and feelings, and of religious knowledge.

He is doomed himself to be familiar with the derogatory condition of the slave of both sexes, in their compulsory labour, in their social relations, and in their relations with his own family, not always of the purest character; his sons form *liaisons* with the female slaves, and his daughters hear of births and of offspring of various shades of colour, without the sanction of marriage. All become familiar with the buying and selling of human beings, the separation of husband and wife, and of parent and child, *for ever;* facts which either lacerate or harden the heart.

And what shall I say of the cruelties inflicted upon the poor slave? These have been repeatedly described by abler pens, and I shall only advert to the deadening effect they have, either witnessed or made the subject of conversation in the families of the slave-owner. Nothing is more fearful in its effects than familiarity with cruelty. The sensibilities are blunted and the conscience

seared. To be trained in such familiarity from the cradle must, indeed, have a most baneful influence on the character.

Familiarity with slavery also engenders a repugnance to labour and effort of every kind, extinguishing enterprise and improvement. Hence the slave States are far more tardy in the march of improvement than the States designated free.

This bondage of the slave-owner, with all its baneful influences, is keenly *felt* by some of the planters, and is experienced, however unfelt, by all.

Fearful as these views are, there is another still more terrific. The number of the slaves in the United States is, as I have said, three millions and a half (in 1850, 3,204,313). The ratio of its increase is given for sixty years in the following Tables, which I commend to your careful study, and to which I shall have occasion to refer fully hereafter:

I. *Population in the United States.*

| Classes. | 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whites..... | 3,172,464 | 4,304,489 | 5,862,004 | 7,861,937 | 10,537,378 | 14,195,695 | 19,553,068 |
| Free Coloured | 59,466 | 108,395 | 186,446 | 233,524 | 319,599 | 386,303 | 434,495 |
| Slaves..... | 697,897 | 893,041 | 1,191,364 | 1,538,038 | 2,009,043 | 2,487,455 | 3,204,313 |
| Total..... | 3,929,827 | 5,305,925 | 7,239,814 | 9,633,499 | 12,866,020 | 17,069,453 | 23,191,876 |

II. *Decennial Increase per cent. in the United States.*

| Classes. | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whites..... | 35,58 | 36,18 | 34,12 | 34,03 | 34,72 | 37,74 |
| Free Coloured | 82,28 | 72,00 | 25,25 | 36,86 | 20,87 | 12,47 |
| Slaves..... | 28,1 | 33,4 | 29,1 | 30,62 | 23,81 | 28,82 |

III. *Population in the Free States.*

| Classes. | 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whites..... | 1,900,976 | 2,601,509 | 3,653,219 | 5,030,377 | 6,876,620 | 9,563,165 | 13,330,650 |
| Free Coloured | 27,109 | 47,154 | 78,181 | 99,360 | 138,873 | 170,728 | 196,308 |
| Slaves ..... | 40,370 | 35,946 | 27,510 | 20,638 | 3,568 | 1,129 | 262 |

IV. *Population in the Slave States.*

| Classes. | 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whites..... | 1,271,488 | 1,702,980 | 2,208,785 | 2,831,560 | 3,660,758 | 4,632,530 | 6,222,418 |
| Free Coloured | 32,357 | 61,241 | 108,265 | 134,164 | 180,726 | 215,575 | 238,187 |
| Slaves..... | 657,527 | 857,095 | 1,163,854 | 1,517,400 | 2,005,475 | 2,486,326 | 3,204,051 |

V. *Decennial Increase per cent. in the Slave States.*

| Classes. | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whites..... | 33,93 | 29,7 | 28,2 | 29,28 | 26,54 | 34,32 |
| Free Coloured | 89,27 | 76,78 | 23,92 | 34,7 | 19,28 | 10,49 |
| Slaves..... | 30,35 | 35,79 | 30,38 | 32,16 | 23,98 | 28,87 |

You will perceive that the increase in number of the enslaved African in the United States, but especially in the slave States, augments with a fearful rapidity. Their number is doubled in a period of between twenty-five and thirty years. In rather more than a quarter of a century, the number of the slave population in the slave States will be nearly six millions and a half (6,408,626); in half a century, it will be 12,817,252; in rather more than three fourths of a century, it will be 25,634,504; and in somewhat more than a century, 51,269,008.

Who can fail to perceive that such facts lead *inevitably* to a most dire and calamitous issue, in revolt and servile war—*if slavery be continued*?

I have heard such an event predicted in cold blood. But I could not subdue a shudder. I pictured to myself the scenes that such a struggle would inflict both on slave-holder and slave!

My heart expands towards the poor African; I feel grateful towards many kind friends, some of them holders of slaves; and I am a sincere well-wisher to the United States, the honour of which I would promote amongst the nations of the earth.

## LETTER III.

*The Second Slavery in the United States; Prejudice, Oppression, Persecution.*

* * * * * *

I PROPOSE to devote the present Letter to a description of that *second* slavery to which the freed African is exposed in the United States—a slavery of insensate prejudice and oppression.

I have lived nearly fifteen months in the hotels of the United States. I have been 'helped' by both the African and the European, the latter both Anglo-Saxon and Celt, and I have no hesitation in stating, that to me the manner and behaviour of the African are the most genial and kindly; I am utterly at a loss to imagine the source of that prejudice which subsists against him in the northern States, a prejudice unknown in the south, where the domestic relation between the African and the European are so much more intimate.

The African, it is well known, excels as the driver of a carriage or a dray; but in Philadelphia, the chief town, though not the capital, of the free State of

Pennsylvania, the abode of the "Friends" too, who have always advocated the cause of the African, no one of this persecuted race may drive an omnibus; whilst in New York, an African gentleman, a minister of the "Independents," and a Doctor in Divinity, may not take his seat in that public conveyance.

Ex ungue leonem. Inconceivable prejudice and oppression! Yet in Philadelphia was the famed Declaration signed, which proudly proclaims that "*all men* are created *equal*" and "are endowed with inalienable *rights*."

Imagine an African slave freed by his master for good conduct, or self-emancipated by steady personal effort, in Kentucky: the "Constitution" of this State ordains that he must immediately quit the State.

Now suppose him to pass into Indiana or Illinois: the legislatures of these States prohibit him from remaining and pursuing some useful and industrious avocation within their limits; the *free* African, in these *free* States, may be and actually is fined and imprisoned for the first or second offence of this kind, and sold, or rather resold, into temporary or even perpetual slavery, if he persevere.

Is not such freedom dreadful slavery?

But if State law is thus oppressive, individual prejudice is not less so. This prejudice, although not absent from the breasts of the higher ranks, is greater in proportion as we descend in society; and greatest in the recently arrived Irish, who have fled, as they affirm, from oppression at home.

I cannot illustrate this subject better than by an extract or two from the paper, formerly quoted, of Dr. Chickering :

"The free coloured population of the United States" "seem doomed to perish in a state of freedom, falsely so called, among a people whose feelings and whose prejudices loathe fellowship with them, and where the whole structure of society is set against their equal participation in the blessings of the land."

"The American people," I mean the *white* population, "alone are citizens and men in this great and growing republic. They feel that in the midst of them there is an inferior race, most of whom are declared, by the *general sentiment* and by *law*, to be unworthy of personal freedom, and fit only to be slaves; or at best, in a subordinate and degraded position in society. The few who are *nominally* free are scattered over the land, degraded in the community, despised by the slaves of their own colour, and in this land of *liberty* and of abundance, get hardly the necessaries of life. They live from hand to mouth, and merely subsist without improving their condition, and without hope of improving it. The civil freedom which they can here enjoy amongst the whites, will be, as it has been, *but a name*."—p. 136, 137.

What a picture is this, drawn by an American, without one effort being made or suggested for the alteration of such injustice. But Dr. Chickering is a Colonizationist, and Liberia is the panacea for all these evils, even in the mind of this celebrated statistician.

Dr. Chickering adds—"Even in some free states, where freedom is talked of loudly, and where the desire to spread it is no doubt strongly felt, propositions have been made, which to us seem to be certain to do harm to the coloured race, without conferring any important public benefit. It has been proposed to prohibit by law their settlement in these States, and to compel or reduce to slavery those who shall not, within a specified time, quit the territory."—p. 141. "They are every where excluded from very many of the more elevating and profitable employments. The consequence is, that they do and must feel this degradation, and to them there is a life of poverty, of depression, of ignorance, and of decay only."—p. 135.

Other paragraphs of the same kind might be selected. On all hands and every where the poor African is under the yoke. When he has escaped from the slavery of the land, he finds himself bowed down by a slavery of prejudice and oppression. One thing, and one alone, can nobly emancipate him: it is a well-combined plan of education, discipline, elevation, and wealth, especially in the United States. Then, then will he take his position amongst the people of the earth. The southern part of the United States will form a genial home for him. He will produce cotton, sugar, and rice for the whole world, being the rich white man's bailiff and labourer; or perhaps tilling his own little farm or his plantation.

There is another view to be taken of this matter. The African, as I have said, makes an excellent black-

smith, carpenter, and builder. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and builders are wanted in the United States. Why may not the blacksmith, the carpenter, the builder; and why may not the shoe-maker and the tailor; the grocer and the draper; the gardener and the farmer, be—*black?*

But the African's talents fit him for higher stations and occupations than these. He excels in music, in eloquence. He is trustworthy, and faithful and attached, and is specially fitted to fulfil offices in which these virtues are required.

I propose, however, to devote a letter to the development of the real character of the African race. I return therefore to the subject of the *second* slavery, in which the African is enthralled, and of his self-emancipation from this second slavery in its turn. This is to be fully done by education, discipline, elevation of character and conduct; thrift; acquisitions of knowledge and especially of wealth. How often have I thought, as I have studied the fate of the poor African, of that of the long-oppressed Hebrew nation, and of *their* noble Self-Emancipation from every thraldom; and, I must not omit to say, of England's noble conduct towards them, in giving them, however tardily, a seat and voice in her House of Commons. They have outlived all prejudices, all oppression, all opposition. When shall *all* this be said of the African race in the United States? It has its Bannekers and its Douglasses, worthy of all honour and of every right, and capable of every high function and office.

In Philadelphia there is an African who is a timber-merchant of wealth; in Cincinnati I saw an African, a maker of bedsteads, who has made an improvement in this useful piece of furniture, and is the prosperous master over a factory of sable workmen; in New York I saw an ingenious person of the African race, who had received a medal from a Society of Arts for an improvement in paint brushes and white-wash brushes; in New Bedford I saw a blacksmith of the same African race, who had formerly bought a portion of land and was negotiating for a second.

In a word, it is not the African race that is incapable of elevation, but the European races which are capable of oppression, who are the real cause of the low state of the free coloured persons in the United States.

Let every effort be made to aid the oppressed African in his self-emancipation from this second slavery. He is capable of becoming, as I have said, the finest peasantry in the world, and of greater and better things than husbandry. As an artisan in iron and in wood; as a builder of houses, of bridges, and of vessels, he has indeed already proved himself not only capable, but skilful. As a man and a citizen, he has proved himself trust-worthy; as a husband and as a parent, most affectionate.

What then prevents the chivalrous people of the southern States from exchanging their institution of domestic slavery, with its injustice and its irreligion, into a system of free husbandry, carried on by a free and noble peasantry? There wants but the heart, the

willing mind, the conscientious principle, and a just regard to the National honour.

* * * * * *

Now let us imagine the slave, at present steeped in ignorance and degradation, educated, elevated, and made *free*. As a labourer, a bailiff; as an artisan; as a farmer, a planter; as a man, a rightful husband and parent; as a citizen,—he would take his place in the United States, and, I repeat, from being its shame, become its glory.

In vain I look for any *principle* of opposition to my scheme, which, I believe, will be productive of *good to all*. *Can* the planter be jealous of the men they now despise in their forced ignorance and degradation, if elevated to their just rank amongst men?

## LETTER IV.

*Slave-Breeding; its Immoralities; the Separation of Parents and Children; &c.*

* * * * * *

THE average natural increase in number of the slaves in the United States is, for each decennium, 28.5 per cent. But in the decennium between 1840 and 1850 the increase in Maryland was 0.7; in Virginia, 5,21; in Kentucky, 15.75; in North Carolina, 17,38; in South Carolina, 17,71; in Georgia, 35.85; in Louisiana, 45,32; in Missouri, 50.1; in Florida, 52,85; in Mississippi, 58.74.

What is the explanation of these statistical facts? The excess of births over the deaths, or the natural increase, I presume to be nearly the same in all. What then becomes of the difference between these numbers and that natural increase? It is 'sold south!'

Born and 'bred' in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, the victims of *the internal slave-trade* of the United States are wrested and dragged from their parents' arms, and conveyed and sold into Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi!

You have in these figures the very statistics of this enormous crime. In Maryland, the whole increase,

minus .7, is sold south; in Virginia, 23.29 out of the 28.5; in Kentucky, 12,75 are sold south; in North and South Carolina, in general terms, 10. These numbers will be found to have passed into Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri, Florida, Mississippi, in the proportions represented by the figures given above, minus 28.5 respectively.

Can any one doubt, knowing what is the nature of man, that the direst indecencies and immoralities are practised for the sake of offspring, and this increase?

Would you know at what age that offspring becomes a marketable commodity? In descending the Cumberland River in Tennessee, an English officer, bearing Her Majesty's commission, was witness to the sale of a negress. Her price was gradually augmenting, when it was announced that she was several months advanced in pregnancy; the biddings then rose at once to a much higher figure! Before the infant is born, it is of money value!

But now read the subjoined advertisement, cut out of a New Orleans paper:

> FOR SALE—A likely GRIFFE GIRL, orphan child, 11 months old, will be sold low at 88, Philippa street. jan14. F. SCRANTON.

At eleven months old an *infant* is offered in the public prints for sale!

Virginia, too, in which the decennial increase is only 5.21, contains the enormous number of 472,528 slaves, a number unequalled by any other State; be-

sides 54.333 free negroes. It also produces little cotton (3,947 bales), or rice (17,154 pounds), and no sugar; whilst South Carolina, which produces 300,901 bales of cotton, and the unparalleled quantity of 159,930,613 pounds of the finest rice, possesses only 384,984 slaves and 8,956 free coloured people.

Who does not perceive that the use made of her slave population by Virginia is *not* for the cultivation of the soil?

I leave the enormity of this crime to your serious contemplation—an enormity at once in kind and in degree.

* * * * * *

The States whose names most figure in the advertisements for the sale of slaves in New Orleans, are Virginia, North and South Carolina, Kentucky, Georgia, and Missouri. The last two seem to be depôts for the others, since their increase is large. The others are plainly 'breeding' States in the inverse ratio of their increase.

I send you an advertisement or two of this kind; they cannot fail to interest you deeply:

---

**New Orleans Slave Depot.**

68 Baronne and 157 Common Street, next door to Creswell's old Stand.

SLAVES for sale on reasonable terms, for cash or city acceptances. Particular attention paid to consigned Slaves on commission from merchants, cotton and sugar factors, and will at all times pay in cash the highest price for sound slaves of every description. Having connected to my old establishment the large, commodious brick house owned by James Lilly, Esq., lately occupied by Mrs. Harrison as a boarding house, I will be able to accommodate 300 negroes for those who may import

from Virginia, North or South Carolina, Missouri or Kentucky. Accommodations for boarders. And will keep constantly on hand for sale, mechanics of all descriptions, house and field servants, and will be receiving slaves constantly throughout the season. City guarantees given in all sales, if required. Titles undoubted.

THOMAS FOSTER.

References—Rugely, Blair & Co.; Moses Greenwood & Co.; Charles H. Mulford & Co.; Turner, Wilson & Co.; Hall and Rodd, Purvis, Gladden & Co.; Payne and Harrison. oct6—3m

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**Carolina Negroes.**

THOMAS FOSTER, 68, Baronne Street, between Common and Gravier, and 157, Common Street, near Baronne, has just received 150 likely Negroes, consisting of field hands, black and tin smiths, coopers, carpenters, and washers and ironers, which he will sell in lots to suit purchasers.

*** Will continue to receive 150 Negroes weekly during the season. dec20—1m

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Thus then the 'breeding' of the human species is carried on just as that of cattle is carried on. The proceeding begins with irreligion and immorality; it proceeds to the eventual separation of parent and child; it leads to the formation and arrangement of those gangs or 'coffles' of human beings which pursue their course from State to State, from north to south; and lastly it leads to public sales of the young of both sexes, for every purpose to which they may be applied.

In order that this 'breeding' may proceed uninterruptedly, intercourse must be unrestricted. Holy marriage has no existence among the slave population. Stroud says, simply and plainly—"A slave cannot contract matrimony." (Sketch, p. 61.) Taylor affirms, as simply and plainly—"Slaves are not entitled to the conditions of matrimony." (Elements, p. 429.)

* * * * * *

In stating that there is no marriage amongst the slaves in the United States, I do not mean that there is never such a *ceremony* as that of marriage; but that there is no legal and fast bond of marriage; no marriage which the master of the slave may not break and sunder at his convenience, necessity, or will; no holy and indissoluble marriage, no marriage *such* as will instantly follow the emancipation of the slave and his elevation to the rank of a man, a citizen, and a husband, in the sight of God and man.

The facts which I have detailed are not incompatible with juster feelings on this point on the part of many of the planters. Of this I have been witness. When in Savannah, I accompanied one of the most estimable of men to visit his estate in the country. There an interesting scene occurred. One of the slaves was sent for, and his master addressed him thus: "What is this I hear of you? You propose, because your wife is absent for a time in attendance on my daughter, to take Nelly to wife! Let me hear no more of this. Your own wife Jenny shall soon return to you."

But even from this anecdote it is obvious that the poor slave has no idea of the sacredness of the marriage bond.

* * * * * *

It is obvious that the slave States may, besides the division already noticed, be divided into the *exporting* and the *importing*, the former being the older and

breeding States; the latter, the newer and those in a state of progressive colonization.

An excess in the number of slaves, beyond the demand for labour, is retained in the slave-breeding States for the purpose of breeding—an excess which is in demand for labour in the more southern States.

The very idea of breeding will become extinct by emancipation. The parents will pass into the south, and their children will remain with them, in or near the home in which they are born. The immorality of slave-breeding, and the cruelty of the separation of parent and children, will be extirpated together.

In Virginia we heard most complaints of the conduct of the slave servants. They were said to be "without any sense of shame," and "without natural affection towards their offspring," destructive of their clothes and inattentive to their duties. Are not these the natural effects of the slave-breeding system?

The whole subject is fully illustrated by the following Table, which I beg to commend to your careful *study:*

*Increase and Decrease of Slaves per cent. per decennium.*

| | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. The Slave States.... | 30,35 | 35,79 | 30,38 | 32,16 | 23,98 | 28,87 |
| II. The Exporting States. | | | | | | |
| 1. Maryland. ... | 2,52 | 5,55 | —3,68 | —4,09 | —12,87 | 0,7 |
| 2. Virginia ..... | 17,84 | 13,51 | 8,31 | 10,49 | — 4,4 | 5,21 |
| 3. Kentucky..... | 241,02 | 99,69 | 57,31 | 30,36 | 10,31 | 15,75 |
| III. The Importing States. | | | | | | |
| 1. Alabama..... | | | | 180,68 | 115,68 | 35,22 |
| 2. Louisiana..... | | | 99,26 | 58,67 | 53,71 | 45,32 |
| 3. Mississippi .... | | 389,76 | 92,02 | 100,09 | 197,31 | 58,74 |

It is obvious that Maryland is at once a breeding State and inclined to freedom; that Virginia is in full operation as the chief breeding State; and that Kentucky, after being an importing State, is following in her wake. Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi are the flourishing importing States.

## LETTER V.

*The Planter and the Plantation.*

* * * * * *

THE slaves are in the hands of 37,055 planters.

These gentlemen have been born and reared in the possession of slaves. It has probably *never* occurred to them that that possession is an illegitimate one, which all conscientious persons who have not been so educated see it to be.

These gentlemen were cradled in the idea that the slaves by whom they are surrounded were slaves to them to do their every bidding, to serve them, to toil for them.

The planter, infant, boy, youth, and man, has been taught that the poor African is a lower race of man, if a man at all, doomed of God to be a "servant of servants," *not* a *person*, but a chattel or thing; and to estimate his wealth by their numbers.

He has long seen that the poor African slave is ignorant of the letters of the alphabet, and of every kind of literature, science, morals, religion; without holy and legitimate marriage, without the rights of a parent, without the lowest rights of a man or of a

citizen ; in the condition of the brute ; and, like cattle, bought and sold by public or private sale.

In these opinions the planter, with his brothers and sisters, have been born and educated. How difficultly are opinions so rooted plucked up !

This is in fact the mental slavery and degradation of the planter of the southern States. He views labour as slavish and derogatory. He is himself a slave to this inherent idea. For this reason he is, unlike his northern brethren, slow to undertake any enterprise involving effort, mental or physical. For this reason the very States in which he lives are tardy in the race of improvement, and left a century behind those of the north.

Unfortunately this condition and these opinions of the planter are fostered by the very ministers of religion, who have not scrupled to make holy writ bolster up their views—" the wish being father to their thought."

The facts and scenes which I described in my last Letter, impair the sense of principle, morals and religion in the youthful members of the families of the planters, in regard to the degraded race constantly before them in all their degradation. This is the natural effect of slavery. They have been educated to believe the African a doomed, or different, race of being, *fit* only for that condition in which, in reality, they have been forcibly held.

I cannot imagine a greater misfortune inflicted on a child than such an education.

The planters are proud and aristocratic ; of high

honour, according to their estimation of honour; of great hospitality towards strangers, except when the idea of *their* views of slavery intervenes and interposes a barrier to friendly intercourse.

* * * * * *

I visited plantations on the James River, in Virginia; near Charleston, South Carolina; near the Cemetery at Savannah, in Georgia; on the banks of the Mississippi, in Louisiana. On all these, sufficient coarse food and clothing and 'cabins,' that is, physical well-being, prevailed. I saw nothing of which the slave, viewed as *cattle*, could complain.

The planter and his family rule, it is true, with despotic sway. But each slave is of the money value of a horse of the highest breed. Do not men take care of their horses? Why should they not take care of their slaves? The former are properly fed and 'bedded down,' and not neglected or overworked. Why should the latter be treated differently?

At certain seasons of harvest, if I may use that term, the work of the slave is undoubtedly very laborious. But this lasts but for a season; and the truth is, that the slave, however he may suffer in feeling, is not allowed, for obvious motives, to suffer in health.

The master speaks kindly to his slave. The slave replies with the eternal "massa" to his master.

On many plantations, nothing but kindliness, I am persuaded, prevails.

But there may be cruel masters; or, what is more

probable, there may be, in the absenteeism of the master, cruel overseers. The latter has no interest in the *slave*, and is only anxious for the productiveness of the *plantation* or *farm;* and he is usually a person of low education.

This absenteeism is indeed dreadful in its effects on both slave and estate, exposing the former to the mercies of an underling, and exhausting or impoverishing the latter.

Undoubtedly slavery might be 'patriarchal:' the master might rule on his estate mildly. The mistress might teach the ignorant slave. But instruction is opposed by Slave-State law.

Nevertheless, I must say, that *all* is not cruelty, *all* is not unkindness on the cotton- or sugar-plantation.

On the other hand, it must also be allowed that occasionally the planter, still more frequently the overseer, is irritable in temper, perhaps unreasonable in his expectation, and then fearful is the *power* over fellow mortals given into his hands. Cruelty may begin, may become systematic. Or the same persons, or their sons, may be immoral.

Once or twice I have heard the planter speak of his "people," and I have witnessed the slave appealing to his master as to his protector.

There is—and it would be wrong to deny it—a less shadowy side of the picture than that usually described in anti-slavery works. But the darker side of the picture is dark indeed!

The 'village' is the poor slave's world. He may be

many miles from any other habitation. His ignorance must be complete. In the course of my journeyings from Richmond, Va, to Montgomery, Al, and in my progress down the Alabama, and especially the Mississippi, I saw many such isolated villages, separated from the world besides. They are to the slave intellectual prisons in the midst of a *State* prison of enormous dimensions. There is something fearful in the idea of this isolation. There is something fearful in the idea of five hundred beings in the power of one man "of like passions with themselves;" and there is something still more fearful—in the idea that that individual and his family are at the mercy of the slave, should he one day be instigated to rebel, by fanatic or other ringleaders. There is only *one* source of safety: it is in the emancipation from slavery and ignorance, and in the institution of citizenship, with all its rights, its interests, its duties, its responsibilities, its loyalties.

## LETTER VI.

*Latitude; Climate; Products; Slaves.*

THE products associated with slave labour are principally tobacco, cotton, sugar, and rice. But Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, without a slave, produce 14,658,984 lbs. of tobacco. This may, therefore, be separated from the special slave labour products, and, for the present, I restrict the slave products to cotton, sugar, and rice.

These are chiefly produced, in the United States, within the limits of five degrees of latitude, from lat. 30° upwards. This may be viewed as the *Slave-region;* it embraces Maryland, D. Columbia, Virginia, Kentucky; the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Missisippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Missouri.

Of these, Maryland and the District of Columbia produce no cotton, sugar, or rice; Virginia very little cotton and rice, and no sugar; and Kentucky very little of any of the three. Notwithstanding this fact, these States possess their full proportionate number of slaves, and Virginia especially contains a greater number than any other State!

In fact, the most shocking and derogatory view of slavery in the United States is attached to the State of Virginia, with those of Maryland, Kentucky, &c. (see p. 24). Virginia, as I have stated, produces little cotton (3,947 bales only), or rice (17,154 lbs.), and no sugar; yet, as I have stated in a previous Letter, it contains the enormous number of 472,528 slaves. S. Carolina, on the other hand, produces 300,901 bales of cotton, and the enormous quantity of 159,930,613 lbs. of rice, with 671 hhds. of sugar, and yet contains only 384,984 slaves, or fewer by 87,544. It is true that Virginia produces an immense quantity of tobacco; but it has been already shown that this does not require slave-labour, and by no means explains the extraordinary fact which I have laid before my readers.

With the exception of the fact in regard to the number of the slaves and their increase in the *Breeding States*, noticed in a former Letter, that number accurately coincides inversely with the latitude and directly with the quantity of the products. I beg to draw your attention to a Table, compiled from the *Abstract* of the Seventh Census, full of the deepest interest and import, and worthy of the most attentive study:—

*Latitude; Products; Slaves.*

| States and Territories. | Mean Latitude. | Tobacco pounds of | Cotton bales of 400lbs. | Sugar hhds. of 1000lbs. | Rice pounds of | Slaves. | Free Coloured | Whites. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maine ..... | 45° | | | | | | 1,356 | 581,813 |
| N. Hampshire. | 43° 15′ | 50 | | | | | 520 | 317,456 |
| Vermont..... | 43° 30′ | | | | | | 718 | 313,402 |
| Massachusetts. | 42° 30′ | 138,246 | | | | | 9,064 | 985,450 |
| Rhode Island . | 41° 30′ | | | | | | 3,670 | 143,875 |
| Connecticut.. | 41° 30′ | 1,267,624 | | | | | 7,693 | 363,099 |
| New York.... | 43° | 83,189 | | | | | 49,069 | 3,048,325 |
| Pennsylvania . | 41° | 912,651 | | | | | 53,323 | 2,258,463 |
| Ohio ..... | 40° | 10,454,449 | | | | | 25,319 | 1,955,108 |
| Indiana . .... | 40° | 1,044,620 | | | | | 10,788 | 977,628 |
| Illinois..... | 40° 45′ | 841,394 | | | 700 | | 5,435 | 846,035 |
| Michigan..... | 43° | 1,245 | | | | | 2,557 | 395,097 |
| Wisconsin.... | 44° 15′ | 1,268 | | | | | 633 | 304,758 |
| Iowa..... | 42° | 6,041 | | | | | 335 | 191,879 |
| California .... | 41° | 1,000 | | | | | 965 | 91,632 |
| Minnesota Ter. | 46° | | | | | | 39 | 6,038 |
| N. Mexico Ter. | | 8,467 | | | | | 17 | 61,530 |
| Oregon Ter. .. | | 325 | | | | | 206 | 13,088 |

| States and Territories. | Mean Latitude. | Tobacco pounds of | Cotton bales of 400lbs. | Sugar hhds. of 1000lbs. | Rice pounds of | Slaves. | Free Coloured. | Whites. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| New Jersey... | 40° 15′ | 310 | | | | 222* | 23,820 | 465,503 |
| Delaware..... | 39° | | | | | 2,290 | 18,073 | 71,169 |
| Maryland .... | 39° | 21,407,497 | | | | 90,368 | 74,723 | 417,943 |
| D. Columbia.. | 39° | 7,800 | | | | 3,687 | 9,973 | 38,027 |
| Virginia..... | 38° | 56,803,218 | 3,947 | | 17,154 | 472,528 | 54,333 | 894,800 |
| N. Carolina... | 35° 30′ | 11,984,786 | 73,849 | | 5,465,868 | 288,548 | 27,463 | 553,028 |
| S. Carolina... | 34° | 74,285 | 300,901 | 671 | 159,930,613 | 384,984 | 8,956 | 274,567 |
| Georgia..... | 32° 30′ | 423,924 | 499,091 | 1,644 | 38,950,691 | 381,682 | 2,931 | 521,572 |
| Alabama..... | 32° 30′ | 164,990 | 564,429 | 8,242 | 2,311,252 | 342,892 | 2,293 | 426,486 |
| Mississippi... | 32° 30′ | 49,960 | 484,293 | 388 | 2,719,856 | 309,878 | 930 | 295,718 |
| Louisiana..... | 31° 30′ | 26,878 | 178,737 | 226,001 | 4,425,349 | 244,809 | 17,462 | 255,491 |
| Tennessee..... | 36° | 20,148,932 | 194,532 | 248 | 258,854 | 239,460 | 6,401 | 756,753 |
| Kentucky..... | 37° 30′ | 55,501,196 | 758 | 284 | 5,688 | 210,981 | 10,007 | 761,417 |
| Missouri..... | 38° 30′ | 17,113,784 | | | 700 | 87,422 | 2,618 | 592,004 |
| Arkansas..... | 35° | 218,936 | 65,346 | | 63,179 | 47,100 | 608 | 162,189 |
| Florida..... | 29° | 998,614 | 45,131 | 2,752 | 1,075,090 | 39,309 | 924 | 47,911 |
| Texas ..... | 31° | | | | 87,916 | 58,161 | 397 | 154,034 |
| Utah Ter..... | | 70 | | | | 26 | 24 | 11,530 |

* Apprentices.

Whilst the more northern climates appear to be the proper domicile of the white man, and recompense his labours by its cereals and its more solid products; cotton, sugar, and rice, are the products of the south,—mark the appropriate domicile of the negro race,—and become the representatives, through a crime and an error, of slavery! These, in the order in which I have arranged them, can best be cultivated by the coloured race of mankind. Perhaps one of them, rice, can be effectually cultivated by that race alone.

Whilst the white man sinks under the climate, the toil, the elevated thermometer, the heated atmosphere which surrounds him, and the heated soil under his feet, the exhalations of vapor and miasmata, the coloured man, however his energies may be subdued by them, remains in comparative health. Yet even the latter is sometimes overcome with—shall I call it languor or indolence?—and then, alas! compulsory measures are perhaps resorted to, to make him perform his daily task. It is in such a climate that slavery has existed, and existed in all its enormity, under the sunbeams, the overseer, and the lash!

Within the limits of seven States there live 2,250,873 of the 3,204,313 slaves of the United States.

These slaves perform all the labour of the south, all the labour required to produce the cotton, the sugar, and the rice of this region. The European race, in the same seven States, amount to 6,369,939.

It is climate then, in its varied influence on the animal and vegetable world, on the different races of

men, and on the products of the soil, which has led to freedom in the Northern, and slavery in the Southern States and latitudes. *These are purely physiological results!*

Climate, products, and slavery are, in the United States, correlative. Or rather, the latitude may be received as, in a certain degree, the exponent inversely of the products of the soil, and of slave labour. It is still a question, whether the white man can bear exposure to the sunbeams and the toil requisite to produce cotton, sugar, and rice, in large quantity, and at those seasons when the labour required is periodically both most trying in kind and extreme in degree.

Should it prove a physiological fact that the white man *cannot* efficiently produce cotton, sugar, and rice, there is still a choice left, better than that of M. de Tocqueville—who asks—"Mais ne peut on pas se passer de rizieres?" viz. that between *slave* negro labour, and *free!*

If, as I have heard, the white race of mankind cannot produce cotton, sugar, and rice, let us not tempt nature in a hazardous or fatal experiment. Let us think no more of conducting the Irish or German immigrant into South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, &c. If their own instincts lead them thither, well and good; but let the course taken be a natural one. Let our view be directed not to an artificial change of one race for another; but rather, seeing that the coloured race of mankind is suited to the labour, and the labour to the race, let us not attempt artificially to change nature's

laws, but, bowing to them, let us pursue the obvious, open, feasible, and rational course of continuing the coloured man's labour, but make this labour—free.

I have ceased to regard the emancipation of the negro and the abolition of slavery as a *choice*. I am compelled to regard them as a necessity. It remains, therefore, to devise such a plan of emancipation and abolition as shall be wise, just, and practicable. Such I believe a well-digested, a well-organized, and a well-executed plan of self-emancipation to be:—with early instruction, continued discipline and training, time and experience, the slave will gradually become raised in character and conduct, and free; his future career will be in accordance with this discipline, and he will, as the white man does, freely labour for hire, prosper, and ascend in the scale of moral and practical excellence. But, if any, after the discipline of self-emancipation, be found idle and thriftless, let *severe* measures be adopted for his correction. Vagrancy is a crime and a punishable crime elsewhere, amongst nations deemed civilized. But every day's new inquiries, and my inquiries are renewed every day, convinces me more and more that the African race are capable of every good, in service, in traffic, and in undertakings; in thrift, in letters, and in arts. In Western Canada, whence I write these few lines, the negro frequently occupies the land free of rent for three or more years, on condition that he clear it; and he does truly and really clear it! He afterwards perhaps undertakes to manage the farm for a part of the produce, and faithfully performs

his contract. Why should it not be so? And if the negro had the slightest participation in the profits of labour and harvest, which the slave has not, why should he not, like the rest of mankind, exert his energies, duly, nobly, and successfully? At least, let the benevolent experiment be put to a fair trial and proof.

I cannot look on the facts furnished, in the foregoing table, by Ohio and Louisiana, without a thrill of admiration. Ohio has utterly repelled slavery from its soil, but gives shelter and a home to upwards of twenty-five thousand free Africans! Louisiana, with all its need of slaves to labour, having two hundred and forty-five thousand slaves, has not less than seventeen thousand free negroes within its borders! Whereas, North Carolina and Georgia, having each upwards of three hundred and eighty thousand slaves, have only given shelter to nine thousand and three hundred free negroes, respectively.

There is an inevitable deduction from the facts presented by Louisiana, viz. that *free* labour *may* take the place of the yoke of slavery! A glorious result! The mean latitude is 31°, and cotton, sugar, and rice are produced abundantly!

What is wanting in South Carolina and Georgia? Surely not the noble willing mind?

M. de Tocqueville, M. de Beaumont, and others, have proved that free labor is more profitable than slave labor. But I will not offend by suggesting a motive so sordid and ignoble, when the honour of a great nation,

and the morals and rights of three millions of the human race are concerned.

Again then I say, let the noble experiment of exchanging slave labour for free, and of removing the sin, the wrong, and the shame of slavery, from the United States, be made. Let it be fairly made by Maryland. Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois produce together 14,620,188 pounds of tobacco, *without a slave*. Why should not Maryland, which produces no cotton, sugar, or rice, produce 21,407,497 pounds of tobacco equally without slavery?

No State has yet produced cotton, sugar, or rice by means of free labour. To which State shall the honor belong of *first* accomplishing those worthy objects—of setting the example to the world of these products yielded to the arm of the free labourer?

Maryland enjoys the distinction of possessing the greatest proportion of free negroes, compared with the slave population, that proportion being as 74,723 to 90,368. The mean latitude is 39°. My hope is next fixed on Louisiana, the proportion of the free negroes to the slave there, being as 17,462 to 244,809, and the mean latitude 31°. How glorious the day and the victory, when that State shall be hailed over the whole earth as *free!*—and when Tennessee and Kentucky, and the Carolinas, and Georgia, and Mississippi, shall follow in the sublime wake of emancipation from bonds, from ignorance, from moral and intellectual degradation!

And when the South does emancipate itself and its slaves, may it be preserved from that other infliction—the unworthy, the unkind prejudices and antipathies toward the African race, which survive slavery, and are so discreditable in the North.

Is it not true that the free African may not drive a dray at New York, or an omnibus at Philadelphia? But I will not enter upon this topic at the present moment. I trust when emancipation does take place, it will be such an emancipation as will be worthy of a great nation and an enlightened age.

You will readily discover, without any intimation from me, my motives in adding to the other columns of my table the number of the "total coloured" and the "white" population. Much danger and difficulty have been associated with these numbers. But let the ranks of the slave be thinned, and let those of the free, the educated, the possessor of station and of property, &c. be strengthened, and every apprehension will disappear. Still the numbers in their relations to each other, and to the other objects of my table, are of deep interest and moment to the political economist.

It is not by the concealment of facts, but by their fair exposition, that they are met, if need be, by a remedy. I have at least shown that I myself am not blind to such as might present danger. I am persuaded, in the clear view of them all, that a gradual self-emancipation will both effect the noble object in view and be *safe* and beneficial to all parties.

## LETTER VII.

*Progress of Emancipation in the North, the Effect of Climate.*

THE first glimpse of emancipation from slavery in the United States, connects it with climate and the products of the soil. The details of this emancipation are still allied to the same events. If emancipation has been arrested in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, it is because another element has entered into the problem. The slave has not been retained in these States on account of *labour* alone. When the demand for the African diminished or ceased in them, it was discovered that it was augmented in the South, and *sales* soon demonstrated that it was profitable to produce, when the plantations ceased to employ, the slave.

I think it will be but too obvious that emancipation has been the result of natural causes and not of benevolent design. But, I proceed:

The United States may be divided, in regard to slavery, into the free States and the slave States. But, besides this general division, it is easy, on a careful inspection of the census tables, to perceive that there is good foundation for a further and minuter division into—

1. *The ever free.* 2. *The speedily freed.* 3. *The slowly freed.* 4. *The oscillatory.* 5. *The slowly increasing.* 6. *The rapidly increasing.*

It is remarkable that even these minuter characteristics of the different States, in regard to slavery, also, bear an exact relation to the *latitude* of those States. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, within the latitudes of from 41 deg. to 42 deg. may be said to have been ever free from slavery; one of these, New Hampshire, having once, indeed (viz. in 1790), owned 158 slaves, a number which was reduced to eight at the following census, in 1800, and thenceforth disappeared altogether. Once too (in 1790), Vermont owned 17 slaves; but this State, at the next and every subsequent census, has been without the taint of slavery. These four States may therefore be distinguished as the *ever free.* I speak, of course, of the period intervening between 1790 and 1850.

Next follow the States which have speedily and rapidly freed themselves from the stain of slavery. These are, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York. These States lie, generally, between the 41st and 43rd degrees of north latitude, though the last extends to the 45th degree. These States, possessing, in 1790, a considerable number of slaves, now take rank amongst the free States, or those which I designate and distinguish as the *speedily freed.*

The examples of the ever free States, or of the speedily freed, have been followed by Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, all lying beyond

the 38th degree of north latitude, with the exception of a small part of Illinois.

Next come the States which have slowly freed themselves from slavery. These states are Pennsylvania and New Jersey. If New Jersey still numbers 225 slaves within its limits, these are "apprentices" by the State Act of 1846 to abolish slavery, and they will in due time all be free.

The numbers of the slaves in Pennsylvania were, in—

| 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3,737 | 1,706 | 795 | 211 | 403 | 64 | 6 |

The similar numbers for New Jersey were, in—

| 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11,423 | 12,422 | 10,831 | 7,657 | 2,254 | 674 | 225 |

Of these States, the former occupies a latitude between 40 and 42 degrees; the latter between 39 and 41 degrees.

Two of the States I have designated as *oscillatory*. These are the District of Columbia and the State of Maryland. They are situated between the latitudes of 38 and 39½ degrees, and the varying numbers of slaves, which they have included at various periods, are given in the following table:—

| | 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| D. Columbia | | 3,244 | 5,395 | 6,377 | 6,119 | 4,694 | 3,687 |
| Maryland... | 103,036 | 105,635 | 111,502 | 107,398 | 102,294 | 89,737 | 90,368 |

That is, the District of Columbia contained more slaves in 1850 than in 1800, though less than at the periods of the intervening censuses; and Maryland contained more slaves in 1850 than in 1840, whilst its numbers increased from 1790 to 1810, but decreased from 1810 to 1840.

These oscillatory movements in the minds of the inhabitants of these portions of the United States denote little progress.

I now grieve to notice the case of those States in which slavery is either slowly or rapidly increasing. These occupy a space southward between the 29° and 30° of latitude, in general terms. They are Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana; and the newer States of Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Florida. I will speak of the former series only. I subjoin a copy of the decennary censuses from 1790 to 1850:—

*States with increasing Slavery.*

| | 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Virginia | 203,427 | 345,796 | 392,518 | 425,153 | 469,757 | 448,987 | 472,528 |
| Kentucky | 11,830 | 40,343 | 80,561 | 126,732 | 165,213 | 182,258 | 241,786 |
| Tennessee | 3,417 | 13,584 | 44,535 | 80,107 | 140,603 | 183,059 | 239,461 |
| North Carolina | 100,572 | 173,296 | 168,824 | 295,017 | 235,601 | 245,817 | 288,412 |
| South Carolina | 107,094 | 146,151 | 196,365 | 258,475 | 315,401 | 327,038 | 384,984 |
| Georgia | 29,264 | 59,404 | 105,218 | 149,656 | 217,531 | 280,944 | 381,681 |
| Louisiana | | | 34,660 | 69,064 | 109,588 | 168,452 | 239,021 |

Trace carefully the progress, alas, of these several States in slavery. Trace carefully the *pari passu* decrease in latitude. Let me now ask, whether it be really virtue in the north, and crime in the south, which has effected the difference between the States promptly emancipated from slavery and rapidly more and more involved in it. Let me ask, whether this result is not rather the natural effect of *climate* and of the greater and less demand for slave labour !

## LETTER VII.

*The Abolition Movement.*

* * * * * *

It will have been seen by Table II, that during the past half-century the number of the *slaves* in the United States has uninterruptedly and rapidly augmented, and that the number of the so-called *free* Africans has still more rapidly diminished. Yet, during this same period, the *Abolition Movement* has exerted, not to say exhausted, all its energies. Under its auspices, slavery has increased, liberty decreased!

Is it not time then to bethink ourselves of some new and different mode of aiding the three millions and a half of our poor African brethren enslaved in the United States?

Now, the abolition movement has consisted in a system of attacks on the planter and on the State legislatures. The effect produced was natural. It is not in our nature to be driven.

About a quarter of a century ago, there was a movement, both in the Virginia and Kentucky legislatures, to abolish slavery. That movement was going on to a successful issue, and these would probably long

ago have been added to the number of the free States, had it not been thwarted by the violent abolition agitation of that moment. Of these facts I have been assured and re-assured, by gentlemen of great knowledge and accuracy; one of these being an able and amiable judge, residing in Cincinnati. Since that date, those legislatures, in which the cause of emancipation had been carried within two or three votes, have not permitted the question to be mooted in their assembly. These gentlemen are *not* to be goaded and driven: but they are perfectly susceptible of a spontaneous, generous movement.

Table II, to which I have already referred more than once, demonstrates that the decennial increase of the numbers of the free African has greatly diminished; indeed, between 1790—1800, and 1840—1850, from 82.28 to 12.47. It is an affecting question, in what degree this diminution is positive, arising from the misery of the free; and negative, arising from emigration, and from the diminished numbers of the manumitted and the fugitive.

Other questions present themselves. Are the planters' minds towards their slaves *more* or *less* kindly than before? Are the slave States' legislatures *more* or *less* lenient or severe? Are the fetters of the poor slaves *more* or *less* heavy? Are education and personal liberty *more* or *less* denied to them? I believe that, in all these respects, the case of the poor slave has been aggravated by the violent but vain efforts of the abolitionist.

I have conversed with many southern gentlemen freely; at least, freely eventually. I found their minds uniformly exasperated at the first, and uniformly opposed to *any* innovation; but, afterwards, open to reason. By some, the idea of self-emancipation was accepted, I will not say with cordiality, but certainly with candour, as I represented the sin, the crime, and the curse of slavery, and the feasibility of self-emancipation, the capabilities of the African race under the influence of education, and the difference in profit, honour, and safety, between a number of slaves, obviously becoming overwhelming, and what I venture to pronounce—*the finest peasantry in the world.*

In considering the important question of abolition, or rather of emancipation, *one* idea always presents itself to me: it is the absolute necessity for *education* and *elevation.* Without these, freedom would be but license, and worse than useless. Abolition without education would be unfair towards the African race.

## LETTER VIII.

*The Colonization Movement.*

* * * * * *

THERE are many things in the scheme of Colonization to commend it to the heart of the philanthropist; a return to his own home, amongt his own race, offered to the expatriated African; civilization sent across the Atlantic to a benighted nation and his own brethren by his means! It is not possible to realize these objects without a thrill of satisfaction.

But these schemes relate to those who have either attained, or are about to attain, to that *second slavery* of which I have written to you, *not* to the slave, not to *the* slavery and *the* slaves in the United States.

Since the dawn of the plan of Colonization to Liberia, that is, during thirty years, ten thousand free Africans have emigrated from the United States; but they have left three millions and a half of slaves in bondage behind them.

During the year ending with March 1854, 783 emigrants embarked for Liberia—an increase of 200 upon the preceding twelve months; the relative in-

crease being greater for that year than for any one of many preceding years, as will appear by the following table:

Year ending April 1, 1847, 3 vessels, 39 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1848, 3 vessels, 213 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1849, 5 vessels, 474 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1850, 6 vessels, 596 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1851, 5 vessels, 279 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1852, 6 vessels, 568 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1853, 6 vessels, 583 emigrants sent.
Year ending April 1, 1854, 6 vessels, 783 emigrants sent.

But what are these *hundreds* compared with the *millions* in slavery, with their rapid increase? Absolutely nothing! Let us not be beguiled then by this benevolent scheme. Let it accomplish all possible good to a few of the *free* of the African race in the United States, and by their means to numbers in the country of their fathers; but let us not forget for one moment the millions of that race still in bonds, and still near our own homes.

I fear the colonization scheme has, like the abolition, not been without its baneful influence on the poor unhappy African race in the United States, and especially that portion in what I have called the *second* slavery of those States.

I am compelled to say what I believe to be the truth,—*that the Colonization Society is the calumniator of the African race!*

I will illustrate these painful facts by two brief extracts:

"Free blacks are a greater *nuisance* than even slaves themselves."—*Afr. Rep.* ii, p. 189.

"It were better to have them left in *chains*" (this is true indeed), "than to have them liberated to receive *such* freedom as they" (the free of the African race) "enjoy; and greater freedom we *cannot, must not* allow them!"—*Afr. Rep.* iii, p. 197.

"If we were constrained to admire so uncommon a being" (as a pious, highly cultivated, scientific negro), "our very admiration would be mingled with disgust" (witness the *mixed* race over the United States!), "because in the physical organization of his frame, we meet an insurmountable barrier even to approach to social intercourse, and in the Egyptian colour which nature has stamped on his features, a principle of repulsion and a strong feeling, as to forbid the idea of a communion of interest or of feeling, as utterly abhorrent!"—*Afr. Rep.* vii, p. 331.

In this manner the Colonization Society may convey a few hundreds of the *free* Africans from their real to a fancied home; but it binds the chains of the *second* slavery of the United States still more firmly round the limbs of the thousands who remain!

The first two Articles of the Society are these:

Art. I. This Society shall be called the American Society for colonizing the *free* people of colour of the United States.

Art. II. The object to which its attention shall be *exclusively* directed, is to promote a plan for colonizing,

*with their consent*, the *free* people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, &c.

But let us see how this 'consent' is obtained: "The subject of the colonization of the *free blacks* is now beginning to receive that attention which it demands;" "our Southern brethren are making rapid movements towards abridging the privileges of this class, even to *banishment*. (!) We of the north are adopting *extraordinary* means for removing them, by prohibiting them from holding *property*, excluding them from the *protection* of the *law*, and denying them any rights whatever." (!) Message of the Governor of Indiana to the Legislature.

The favorite doctrine of the colonizationist is, that "two races which cannot amalgamate by inter-marriage can only subsist in the same land in the relation of master and slave, or oppressor and oppressed." Do not the Hebrew and Gentile races all over the world live together, without inter-marriage, and, thank God, recently, and more and more, without the alternative of "oppressor and oppressed?" Well has the former vindicated *his* claim to citizenship. One day the African will, I trust, do the same!

If you wish to study the question of colonization perfectly, I would beg you to peruse the several writings of Mr. J. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, and of Mr. William Jay, of New York. The former are perfect specimens of eloquence. The recent volume by the latter, entitled "Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery," constitutes a treasury of knowledge and argument, and

should find its place in the library of *every* one who cares for his oppressed brother and fellow man of African origin.

It must now be admitted that abolition has had its trial, and has signally failed; and that colonization is inadequate, if ever intended, to accomplish the emancipation of the slave. It is time, therefore, to have recourse to some new and sufficient anti-slavery measure.

But, admitting all that has yet been said in favour of colonization, *one* thing, and that the most important of all, is and has always been lacking—*education, preparation*. How can the uneducated carry the arts, civilization, religion, or any good thing to a benighted people? It is difficult to believe in the sincerity of the colonizationist.

## LETTER IX.

*Project of Self-Emancipation; of the Slave; of the Planter; of the States; of the Nation.*

* * * * * *

It is but too obvious, from the facts which I have laid before you, that the Slavery in the United States is not limited to the slave. The yoke extends to the owner of the slave. Slavery, like a dire miasma, extends its influence to the planter's family, lowering the perceptions and feelings of head and heart towards the African race.

I regard abolition as unjust towards the slave-owner, and colonization as unjust towards the free but oppressed African. The just emancipation is that which cares for both owner and slave, and for both slave and free.

I never could imagine man having property in man. But in the mode of emancipating the slave, I may surely care for the interests of the master. And if my mode of proceeding also prepares the poor slave for the just use of liberty, I think I shall effect a double good.

If I take from the slave-owner, without loss, an

ignorant and degraded slave, and replace him by an intelligent labourer, elevated in mind, body, rank, and powers; if I remove a horde of slaves, and replace them by a fine peasantry, at once faithful and loyal, I shall have conferred no common benefit. And all this, I am persuaded, the project of self-emancipation will accomplish.

And now it will plainly appear that my appeal must be made, not to the public, except for *aid* in my project, but to the planter and to the slave-state legislature.

It is now a penal crime to teach the poor negro to read or write. Let this derogatory law be rescinded, and let arrangements be made for his education and elevation. Let the same thing be permitted, nay accomplished, for him, as is accomplished for the *peasantry* elsewhere. Let the Bible be accessible to him! Let him be prepared and qualified to carry on a little occupation, shop or farm, if he should ever attain to one. Let the way to greater elevation be open to him.

And, instead of his *daily* task, let fair *task-work* be appointed him; and when this is done, let the privilege of *overwork* be granted to him; let a fair minimum value be put upon him, and let that sum be a legal payment for his freedom. Let Savings' banks be organized for small sums, granting the highest rate of interest; and when these sums amount to a certain proportion of the whole sum, let the rest be added by the Federal and States Governments, and *Societies in Aid;* and *let the slave be free!*

Let self-emancipation thus be placed fairly within the power of every Negro slave. Let the slave, by this mode of emancipation, pass from the condition of *slave* to that of a *hired servant;* or let him, if he prefer it, *emigrate*. Let the Negro slave be further assisted in his emigration to *Liberia*, his fatherland, thither to carry back with him the knowledge and blessings of civilization, of freedom, and of industry; and, may I not add, of holy religion! But above all, let him be freely permitted to remain, as a servant for wages, in the same place and under the same master, where he formerly wrought as a slave under the lash. Let us see which proves the more profitable to the planter; no one will doubt which is the happier to the poor African, which is the more honourable and safe to the United States.

The object of this suggestion is, not that of immediate and total emancipation, reckless of consequences to both owner and slave. It is that of a *self*, yet *aided*, emancipation; gradual, progressive, and finally complete; combined with the simultaneous discipline and elevation of the African race, repairing, and more than repairing, the wrong which has been done to it.

Even under existing circumstances, it occasionally occurs that the negro slave effects his own emancipation. This is achieved, however, through years of toil, of self-denial, and almost of despair. Let us *help* the negro, then, in these his noble, praiseworthy efforts; let the legislatures, and let the philanthropic public extend

their aid to these strugglers for self-emancipation from slavery, for liberty, and for the rights of men.

This plan is based on the character of the individual negro himself: 1st, on his own *desire* for freedom; 2nd, on his own industry, frugality, and habit of saving; 3rd, on the best kind of education, viz. thrift, self-dependence, and self-control, &c.: to this kind of discipline and education, other education of every useful kind, viz. reading, writing, and arithmetic, &c., manufactures, trades, letters, and even science, being superadded.

In this manner the property of the slave-owner, all disputes about its right or wrong being discarded, is respected; the rights of the coloured man are restored; being free, he will still continue to cultivate the rice-, the coffee-, and the sugar-field; and what further good will not be achieved in relation to progress, morals, religion!—marriage at least will be legalized and made holy, and indissoluable at the will of man.

Let us compare emancipation of an unconditional kind with this self-emancipation. Unconditional emancipation would set many a negro slave free who afterwards would not possess the ability or the conduct to take care of himself, and who would suffer from hunger and want, and be guilty of intemperance, perhaps of crime. Self-emancipation will begin with a training and discipline which will entirely obviate such calamities. Unconditional emancipation would deprive the proprietor both of his property in the slave and of the

labour of his slave. Self-emancipation, such as has been described, will do neither; the value of the slave will be paid to the owner; the free slave will continue to serve his former owner, if kind, as a servant does his master, for a just and proper hire. Unconditional emancipation would leave the infirm without support. Self-emancipation will, at the first, not include the infirm; but, after a time, these will come to be cared and provided for, as the free labourer is elsewhere.

To this suggestion I propose respectfully to beg the attention of the friends of the African race and the American people. I know how many propositions to effect emancipation have failed, yet venture, not without some hope, not to say confidence, to suggest yet one more. Happy the day when the healthy and able African slave *may*, if he *will*, achieve his own emancipation, and exchange his lot and condition from those of the bond-slave to those of the freeman! and in that very achievement *fit* himself for freedom, for paid service, for industry, or for enterprise.

Some would neglect even the opportunity of doing what is here proposed. They are the indolent, the unthrifty, the senseless, to whom freedom would be no boon, and its glorious privileges no joy; but others would toil for the desired prize with an enthusiastic zeal. In either case, the black spot and the reproach of *forced* slavery would be removed from this land, now of partial, then of perfect freedom.

In aid of this philanthropic scheme, let the bene-

volent contribute their money and exert their influence and efforts. Let a "*Society in Aid of Self-emancipation*" be instituted, the glory of the whole world, and especially of America! Let all who love liberty and right—let all who admire and would preserve the greatness of the United States in their union and in their glory, lend a helping hand, first to mitigate, and finally to extirpate the evil, the wrong, and the shame of slavery!

* * * * * *

I have already adverted more than once to the extent of meaning which I affix to the expression 'self-emancipation.' I am persuaded that it is *not* by any effort of the North, but by a noble and generous movement in the South, that the emancipation of the slaves and the abolition of slavery in the United States must eventually be achieved. The great work must be a work of *self*-emancipation.

The chivalrous people of the South must see and feel the sin, the wrong, the error, and the shame of slavery, and, raising their voice, call upon the North for AID in the noble and difficult task of uprooting and abolishing it—the want, the work, the reward being alike their own.

I am persuaded that all this *is* and will be acknowledged by the Southern people and States eventually. It is with this conviction, with this feeling, that I shall briefly revert to the wrongs of slavery, which are not the wrongs of the slave only, but of the slave-owner. I

sympathize with both. Is it possible that any pain endured by the slave, which is chiefly physical at most, *can* surpass the poignancy of mental anguish experienced by the inflictor of such pain, when, in secret, in the silence of night, on the bed of sickness, he meditates on the wrongs in which he has, perhaps very unwillingly and remotely, been the inflictor?

Jefferson, the owner of slaves, said, "I tremble for my country" (and he might have added—for myself and my family) "when I reflect that God is just," (and again he might have added—that He is holy and righteous), and "that his justice cannot sleep for ever."

Having begun in *man-stealing*, slavery has continued the perpetuation of the wrong. It involves a system of unholy and sinful adultery—of unions of the sexes without marriage, of separations contrary to the express law of God, of second unions, &c. It deprives our fellow men of the rights of parents, of citizens, of men! Who can be *partakers* in such things and *not* "tremble?" Who, then, in his heart, does not devoutly wish to be *emancipated* from such guilt, from such *slavery?* For what is the sinner but the *slave* of sin?

I am not writing a homily, but plain and simple truths. Again I ask, who would deliberately choose to live—and die—or have his children born—and left—slaves in such bonds as these? For we all know that "God is not mocked," and that he hath said, "vengeance is mine," and that, as we sow, so shall we reap, except that for the wind we shall reap the whirlwind.

Who can endure these thoughts? Let us then make a strenuous effort and achieve a noble self-emancipation from them. Great and sad is the bondage of the poor negro slave; greater and more sad is that of the slave-owner. There is one mode of escape from both. It is that of a well-devised and well-executed plan of self-emancipation for the negro slave. None but the planters can accomplish all that is implied in such a plan. Let them, then, in a noble and generous spirit, make the first experiment, and know assuredly that in emancipating the negro slave, they emancipate themselves.

Let the first self-emancipated negro slave become the overseer. Let the next be paid for his labour according to his industry. Let every reward be assured for good conduct. Let laws, and severe laws—'a rural code'—be enacted against idleness or vagrancy; and let every unjust law be rescinded.

Let education, discipline, a pure and holy religion, just rewards, and just punishments, do their work. Let us free, and raise, and guide the poor negro, and God will bless us in our good work; and let us remember that in emancipating him from his yoke, we really emancipate our country, and ourselves and our children from a yoke still more galling and fearful.

As slavery is assuredly the dark spot on the United States, the absence of marriage—such marriage as is holy and indissoluble—is the dark spot on slavery. It is a national sin. It is a sin in all that are in any wise partakers in it—in the master more even than in the

slave. It is not possible during such a state of things to avoid the dreadful denunciations of Holy Scripture against it. He therefore who deliberately, from whatever motive, sanctions slavery in the United States as it is, as *deliberately* renounces the religion of Christ! I cannot say less, and more fearful words cannot be written.

You will now perceive all that I comprehend in the objects of self-emancipation. It is, first, that of the negro slave from slavery, by efforts greatly his own, but aided by the government, both State and Federal, and by the philanthropist. It is that of the poor negro, slave or free, from ignorance, degradation, oppression. It is that of the slaveholder from the guilt of sin against God and of sin against his fellow man. It is that of a great nation from a national sin, crime, and shame. And now I picture to myself the fields of Georgia and of Louisiana, and other southern States, cultivated by free labour; the negro race raised from bondage, from ignorance, from oppression; the southern planter from the worse bondage of sin and guilt. How glorious will that spectacle be before the whole world! A nation emancipating its slaves, its people, ITSELF, from slavery!

I have not, in this letter, deemed it incumbent on me to discuss the question whether the marriage relation can exist amongst slaves or not. Judge Jay says: "A *necessary* consequence of slavery is the *absence* of the marriage relation." Thus, slaves live in adultery, and this by and with the consent or order of their masters, who thereby become "partakers" in their sin.

But if the marriage relation do exist, then, "whom God hath joined let no man put asunder." But the owner of slaves does put the married asunder, when he sells the husband or the wife to the north or the south. And I can imagine nothing more essentially blasphemous than the Satanic doctrine of the ministers of the Savannah River Baptist Association, in reply to the query whether parties so married and so separated may marry again; viz.

"That such separation is, civilly, a separation by death, and they believe that, *in the sight of God*, it would be so viewed."

I trust the day is not far distant when each slave-owner will say: "O my soul, come not thou into their secret!"

For what saith the Lord, the supreme Judge of the whole earth? "The words which I say to you *they* shall judge you in that day;" and "if a man putteth away his wife," &c.

To the gentlemen of the South, I would appeal in the awful words of an Apostle—"Whether it be right, *in the sight of God*, to obey man rather than God, judge ye;" and in those of a Prophet, I would conjure them—"Come ye out and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing."

Or rather, legislate for the self-emancipation of your own negro slaves, your country, and yourselves; accomplish it duly, wisely, progressively; let not a day pass, without giving to them the holy institution of marriage; and let not a day pass without *beginning*

the good work of their education, elevation, discipline, and preparation for freedom, and for the privileges and the duties of citizens.

The God of battles hath favored the cause, and fought the battles of American independence. Will he not favour the good cause of the poor African crying to Him for justice too?

There is something beneath the dignity of man and of a great nation in enacting laws, the object of which is to inflict on a part of its people a degrading ignorance. It is such a cowardly and ignoble thing, that I cannot believe that the high-minded and chivalrous people of the southern States do not writhe under it. To them I would therefore say—Emancipate yourselves from such a derogatory thraldom.

But the question assumes a graver aspect when it is considered, not in relation to mere knowledge, but to religion.

It is grievous to think that 3,204,313 of people are forcibly deprived of the privilege of reading and writing even—that it is a crime to teach these simple letters. But it is more than grievous to know that free and open access to the sources of instruction in holy religion are, in remote districts, cut off from them. This is not only grievous but fearful. He who said, "Go into all nations and preach the gospel to every creature," will be our righteous Judge, and all hearts will be open to Him.

I appeal to the gentlemen of the South, to effect their own emancipation from unholy, unrighteous slave-ownership, because they alone *can* accomplish this great

object. *Others* may *aid*, but *they* must *achieve* the victory over slavery, a yoke which is not less upon them than on the poor negro, and more guiltily. Theirs is at once the duty and the power, and theirs only. Their emancipation must be *self*-emancipation.

The foreigner, their fellow-citizen of the world, the Federal government, the philanthropist, may and will aid and assist; but the great and righteous work must be their own. The States possess the legislative and executive power of the States; the slave-owner possesses the power over his own slaves to deal with them as he will, whether for their thraldom or their freedom, whether for their wrong or their right, whether to confer on each his own wife and child, or to withhold them and sell them whither he may never go to see them more—'cause' him to commit a fresh adultery and share and more than share his guilt.

To these gentlemen I would say—emancipate yourselves and emancipate your wives and your children, the inheritors of your estate, from such slavery and guilt. Let the deed and the reward be your own!

I might now appeal to the northern States and to the nation at large. But which of these does not feel that the national honour, and, if we believe in the righteous judgment of God, the prosperity of the United States, are involved in the extinction of unjust and sinful slavery from the land? To the chivalry and the honour of its people, the appeal cannot be made in vain.

I will never lower the dignity of my subject by

discussing its relation to profits. I will only say that it is demonstrable that free labour is more economical than that of the slave. But I revert to the honour, the right, and the religion of the question; and I call on the American people, from the North to the South, and in the length and breadth of the land, to achieve their own, their self-emancipation from the sin, the wrong, the error, and the shame of slavery!

In doing this, I do not disguise from myself the real difficulties of the task before us.

He who would effect the emancipation of the negro-slave in the United States, must devise the means of accomplishing the following objects:

He must provide safely for the gradual emancipation of 3,204,313 of negro-slaves in the midst of the Anglo-Saxon race; he must provide that the labour now performed by these 3,204,313 of negroes be still well and duly performed. This must be accomplished under a burning sun, in a malarious atmosphere, and on a soil which the white man can scarcely bear, but which the negro supports with impunity.

It must not be forgotten that the experiment of sudden emancipation in Jamaica was an utter and melancholy failure, and that some wiser and safer plan must be devised. It must be seen that the idea of the emigration and colonization of the 3,204,313 negroes of the United States, with their continued offspring, in Liberia, is an utter impossibility, the numbers alone being considered; and it must be remembered that these 3,204,313 of people are not generally willing to

go and leave their new, their native, and their adopted country. It is certain too, that the place of these 3,204,313 negroes could not be taken in the cotton-, the sugar-, and the rice-fields by the white race of mankind, ever, and certainly not in less than centuries of years.

What then is the remedy for so much evil and wrong in the midst of so much difficulty? I can perceive none, except self-emancipation, in the enlarged sense in which I have taken and explained that expression—its education, its discipline, its elevation of the negro race; the exchange of his labour as a slave for his paid services as justly hired; the liberty of freely advancing himself in the scale of society, and of remaining, like the Hebrew nation, in the midst of another race of men, yet separate; a self-emancipation on the part of the slave-holder too, and on the part of the American people!

Such are the sources to which we must look for *self*-emancipation. The question now presents itself—what are the other sources to which we may look for *aid* in the work?

The northern States, already self-emancipated, will not withhold their powerful aid, the Federal government will not be less ready and energetic. "In the month of August, 1620, a *Dutch* man-of-war entered James' River, and landed twenty negroes for sale, forming the sad epoch of the introduction of negro slavery into the English colonies." But it is to *England*, to whose legislation, fostered by royal favour, and en-

forced for a century by each successive ministry, it is due, that one-sixth part of the population of the United States—a moiety of those who dwell in the five States nearest the Gulf of Mexico, are descendants of Africa. It is to England, then, that we would look for the readiest, chiefest *aid* in this great and noble enterprise.

Let a *Society in Aid of Self-Emancipation from Slavery in the United States* be forthwith formed, into whose ranks let the just, the philanthropic in England, and in the northern States, the energetic, the noble, and the rich of the land, crowd, with open heart and hand. Let this Society correspond and consult with the planters of the South, and let plans and laws for education, and discipline, and guidance, and coercion if need be, both *before* and AFTER self-emancipation, be devised and enacted.

## LETTER X.

*The Tables: the Chart.*

* * * * * *

I HAVE already adverted to the influence of early education. It is said that the planter, born and bred a planter, can scarcely appreciate the feelings of the stranger who contemplates his brother man in the condition of saleable property and of abject slavery, or the indignation of nations blessed with really free institutions, at the contemplation of a 'peculiar' and 'domestic' institution, by which millions are kept under the galling yoke of despotic power and compulsory ignorance.

The United States never *can* take rank amongst the nations of the earth, whilst it retains the institution of slavery. This I say especially of the south; but I also affirm the same thing of the *second* slavery of the north.

I now beg to recall your attention to the *Tables* at pp. 14—15:

The 'whites,' or the European race, are seen in the tables to have augmented their numbers regularly, during the seventy years which have elapsed since the year 1780. This augmentation, which amounts to

about 35.5 per cent., consists of the natural increase and of immigration; and these are supposed by Dr. Chickering to be about 25 and 11 per cent. respectively.

By a careful examination of the tables, it will be seen that the numbers of the slaves, in the South, are pretty nearly half those of the European, even now that there is no foreign slave-trade, and therefore no immigration. Their natural increase is, on an average, about 28.5 per. cent. per decennium.

It is difficult to say how long and to what an extent the immigration of the European into the United States may continue. But there is every reason to suppose that, as long as the institution of slavery endures, the natural increase of the slave will remain as it is; and I have already adverted in former letters to the inevitable *tendency* of that increase to overwhelming numbers in the south.

I here ask you a fearful question: *Is this fact one of retributive justice?*

The slave, kept free from care and almost free from the exercise of his intellectual, emotional, and moral powers, sinks below the condition of man, and becomes 'sleek and fat,' lives a longer *un*intellectual and mere animal life, and multiplies his kind as cattle do. Providence designed man for other offices besides those of the beast of burden, and has appointed the number of his days. Man, in the case of slavery, has lowered his brother's condition and frustrated the decree as to his length of life and numerical increase.

God ordereth all things well, and bringeth good out of

evil,—even out of war, famine and the plague, and the anxieties and cares of this life.

But to take our fellow men by violence, and keep them in ignorance, and feed, clothe, and house them as cattle, and, as cattle, lead him to breed, is obviously unnatural and wicked; and the justice of God is retributive. "It is impossible but that offences will come; but woe unto him through whom they come." Jefferson said—"I tremble" (adding, needlessly) "for my country, when I think of the justice of God."

I know not whether the augmented numbers of the poor slaves be *such* as I have suggested; but I know that slavery is wicked, unjust, and *unnatural*, and therefore I venture to suggest that it will be right in the sight of God, as of all good men, to convert it into freedom, and slave labour into free; the oppressed slave into a loyal fellow citizen.

But the next line of these tables is still more affecting; the increase of the *free* African, which was 82¼ per cent. in the decennium between 1790 and 1800, became diminished to 72, between 1800 and 1810; to 25¼ between 1810 and 1820; and to 36¾, 20¾, and 12½, in the three successive decennia between 1820 and 1850;—the effect of diminished manumissions from the *first* slavery, in the south, and of the cares and anxieties of the free coloured men, under the cruel and unnatural yoke of the *second* slavery of the United States, in the north, not less than in the south!

My object in these letters, is to state facts simply, rather than to educe from them an elaborate argument.

I therefore leave these facts and these tables to your serious contemplation. That they display the elements of future calamity, unless this be averted by timely justice towards the injured African race, must be obvious to every candid mind. The remedy is to confer education, freedom, holy marriage, parental rights, the rights of the citizen, the rights of labour, the rights of property.

One word relative to the little chart, which I now send you. The depth of its shades denotes the degree of slavery; that is, the *number* of slaves in each State. It is defective in not portraying that other *second* slavery, to which I have now often adverted. How shall I hail the time when the United States shall shine, with the stars on their own flag, undimmed by any shade, and, most of all, by that of slavery and injustice inflicted on their own children.

To revert to the tables, you will find that numbered III, to denote the gradual diminution and eventual disappearance of slavery from the States designated *free*. And if this fact had been unattended by another, viz. the first slavery replaced by the 'second,'—I should have spoken of it as the glory of the United States, and should have represented the stars of the free States, in the banner of the United States, as shining with undimmed lustre.

## LETTER XI.

*Religions in the United States; the 'Friends;' the Methodists; the Baptists.*

THERE are, according to the Census of 1850, *no* 'Friends' in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the chief *importing* States, and very few in the slave States in general.

This respectable class of the people have uniformly maintained their opposition to slavery. This opposition has unfortunately always assumed the form of abolition; and I have already stated my opinion of this movement.

I must also add, that, if the 'Friends' have uniformly opposed slavery, they have rarely, to whatever cause the fact may be ascribed, ranked amongst their numbers, the African slave.

I have no means of ascertaining whether the free of the African race become members of this society: but I believe such cases to be extremely rare. Why is this so?

It is to the Methodists and the Baptists that the poor enslaved African seems to flock. But I fear their honour is diminished by the countenance these bodies

give to slavery itself; admitting its authors or abettors into their number.

Two things are in fact required of those who would maintain the semblance of religion: the first, that they hold no community with slavery or the slave-owner; the second, that they open their portals wide to the poor slave, or the so-called free person of colour.

I do not purpose to enter more deeply into this question. A better system of the census is required, in order that we may judge rightly in regard to it. We must not only be informed of the *number* of the several congregations, but of their character and colour. Do the white and black, the slave and the free, worship together?—for there is assuredly no respect of persons before God. Or,—Are they held separate even in *His house*, and in their *grave*?

It would also be most desirable to be informed of the testimony borne by them against slavery respectively.

On this sacred subject I have much to say to you; but I postpone it to another opportunity. I think it but right to add however, that in this matter the Roman catholic appears to me to have been more consistent than the episcopalian and the presbyterian.

*The* touch-stone in all this matter is the question of *marriage*. On this question the Baptists of Savannah must ever stand self-condemned. (See p. 68.) And I can have no hesitation in stating that he, whoever he may be, who sanctions a marriage dissoluble at the will of man, repudiates in the same act all pretensions to the name of Christian.

I know the extent of this allegation. Nevertheless it is *true*.

I repeat, I am not writing a homily. But of this I am assured—All, of every nation and of every colour, will appear together and without difference before the judgment seat of Christ!

When all who profess religion in the United States, shall see and feel the iniquity before God of United States slavery, with its deprivation of *education*, of *holy marriage*, of *parental rights*, that slavery will cease! It is a question of pure and true religion.

## LETTER XII.

*Self-Emancipation: its Effects; its Picture.*

* * * * * *

I WILL now try to describe to you the picture which will be presented by Self-Emancipation.

The African race in the United States will be educated and elevated.

They will constitute families which no power of man can sunder; the husband and wife will be indissolubly and holily bound together; their offspring will be their own, bound to them by parental and filial bonds. The father will no more behold his beloved child, his daughter it may be, become the *property* of another.

The labourer will value a good place, a kind master. He will take pride in his well-furnished cottage, a mean 'cabin' no longer; in his little garden, and most especially in his tidy Sunday attire. His very nature will appear changed.

If thrifty, he will put part of his earnings into the Savings' bank; perhaps purchase a cottage or a little land, and so "possess a stake in the country;" and have his children educated.

Some may even realize greater things; wealth,

property, position; and become '*the finest peasantry in the world;*' farmers, planters; artisans, builders, engineers; school-masters, editors, authors.

M. de Tocqueville and Dr. Chickering forebode calamity as the necessary result of slavery in the United States. I venture to hope that that calamity may be averted by changing slavery with its dire injustice, into freedom with its rights and privileges. The injured slave might, when his numbers are augmented, contend with his master. With every right, a people of proved faithfulness and loyalty, with their families, their home, their country, will be the safe-guard and protection of the European race.

The odious cow-hide, the whip and the paddle; the handcuff and the coffle; the public sale of human beings, will cease and be forgotten, with slavery and all its indignities.

The African will take his place in the United States as *a Man; "the Ethiopian will raise his hands to God."*

There are facts which afford the experimental proof that emancipation need not imply either amalgamation or extreme oppression. In Maryland, there are 74,723 *free* Africans, in the midst of 90,368 slaves, and 417,943 of the European races. I have not heard that, of all the United States, Maryland is the most disturbed. Pennsylvania contains 53,323, and Ohio, 25,319 free Africans. I never heard that they were other than peaceful and worthy citizens, submitting quietly to no little injustice. All that is required, is—to enact just and equal laws!

## LETTER XIII.

*Kidnapping in the Free States, and Abduction to the South.*

* * * * * *

You must not imagine, because the external slave-trade has ceased,—and it is but just to say that the United States took the glorious initiative in this matter before all the nations of the earth,—that *kidnapping* has no existence.

What more natural than that the free coloured person in a northern State should be violently seized and conveyed to one of the *slave States?*

The coloured person *without papers* is deemed a slave. Such a person may be seized, robbed of his papers, and sold into slavery.

Such events are constantly related in the public papers, and in works of authentic truth.

I myself once paid a visit to the house and home of a coloured person three miles distant from a market town, in a northern State. It was evening, the master was from home. The children opened the door to me, and flocked round me, telling me where I might find their father. I afterwards learnt that they were

alarmed, suspecting me of a design of carrying one or more of them away!

As long as the African race have a marketable value in the United States, such events must and will take place. As long as a *Fugitive Slave Law* exists, men will be found, stealers of men, who will not only search out the fugitive, but seize the free.

The following extracts will serve to illustrate the present subject. The first is from the *New York Tribune:*

"In an obscure corner, and the obscurest type of *The New-Orleans Delta*, appears the following:

"FIRST DISTRICT COURT—JUDGE LARUE.—*Tacquette f w. c. vs. W. M. Lembeth and Mrs. Harris.* This was a case in which the plaintiff sought to recover her freedom. She declares she was legally manumitted in 1840, and continued to enjoy her freedom till near the beginning of 1845, when she was seized and put in jail by defendant, Lembeth, and afterwards carried to his plantation, where she has been compelled to work, until March, 1852, when she was sent to this city. She sues to recover her freedom, 3000 dollars damages, and 25 dollars per month since she has been detained in defendant's service. On hearing the case, Judge Larue gave judgment, decreeing the plaintiff to be free, but allowed no damages or wages.

"Here is a free American woman, seized as a slave in 1845, and kept in bondage eight years on a plantation. Enabled finally, by what means the above statement does not explain, to get a hearing in a Court of

Justice, the judge at once pronounces that her pretended master has no right over her, or in other words that he has kidnapped her and deprived her of liberty for that period. The upright and learned judge gives no damages to a woman for being deprived illegally of her liberty for eight years!"

The second extract is from the *Cincinnati Times:*

"OUTRAGE AT LOUISVILLE.—Some time since, a little coloured girl, named Mary Jane Scott, of this city, visited New Orleans with her uncle, to see an aunt who resided there. After finishing her visit, she was placed in charge of Mr. D. Anderson of this city, who was then in New Orleans with his family. The party took passage on the steamer, R. H. Winslow, Capt. McGill, and had a pleasant and unannoyed passage until their arrival at Louisville. The Winslow stopped a short time at that place, and without the knowledge of Mr. Anderson, several police officers boarded the boat, and, against the protestations of the clerk and captain, carried the little coloured girl off, under the plea and pretence that she was a fugitive slave.

"She was taken before a court in Louisville, and committed to jail until her friends could prove her freedom. To do this it was necessary to come to Cincinnati. An attorney was employed and sent down with the necessary documents, and she arrived here yesterday morning. Besides the anxiety and vexation to her friends, it has cost them about fifty dollars to procure her release. It is said one of the passengers on the Winslow caused her arrest by reporting her to the police.

"The individual who took it upon him to go to the police for this purpose, having no interest in the case, save the hope of sharing in the reward, if she proved to be a slave, must be destitute of principle and every feeling of humanity. We understand he belongs to the South, and is at present prowling about our city, perhaps for the purpose of ensnaring more of our colored citizens. They will do well to be on the look-out for him."

How many are kidnapped in the north, and conveyed forcibly and surreptitiously to the south, and there irretrievably sold into slavery, never to be heard of more, who shall say?

Our asylums for the insane, are, for fear of a similar perversion, systematically visited by commissioners. What commissioners penetrate into the prisons of Alabama, Louisiana, and Missisippi?

I leave the rest to your imagination. I am almost sick at heart with my task, and wish it was finished!

"In the spring of 1839, a coloured man was arrested in Philadelphia, on a charge of having absconded from his owner *twenty-three* years before; and, unless he could find witnesses who could prove his freedom for more than this number of years, he was to be torn from his wife, his children, his home, and doomed to spend the remainder of his days under the lash. *Four* witnesses of the claimant swore to his identity, although they had not seen him for twenty-three years! By a most extraordinary coincidence, a New-England Captain, with whom this negro had sailed *twenty-nine*

years before in a sloop from Nantucket, was at this very time confined in the same prison for debt, and his testimony, with that of some other witnesses who had known the man previous to his pretended elopement, so fully established his freedom, that the court discharged him."

"A few years ago, a girl of the name of Mary Gilmore, was arrested in Philadelphia, as a fugitive slave from Maryland. Testimony was not wanting in support of the claim; yet it was most conclusively proved that she was the daughter of poor *Irish* parents, having not a drop of negro blood in her veins;" that she was an orphan, and "had been kindly received and *brought up in a coloured family!* Hence the attempt to make a slave of her."

It is of course difficult to ascertain the extent to which kidnapping is carried. In a work published by Judge Stroud, of Philadelphia, in 1827, he states that it had been *ascertained* that more than *thirty* free-coloured persons, mostly *children*, had been kidnapped in that city within two years."—Sketch, p. 94. Jay on Slavery, p. 391.

In a word, kidnapping will and must continue as long as men, women, and children have a money value and are a marketable commodity, and there are thieves in the world.

## LETTER XIV.

*Pro-Slavery Hypotheses: the African Slave the Descendant of Ham; distinct in Species from the European; &c.*

It is not without interest to consider the various pleas or hypotheses of the pro-slavery mind of the slave-holder, to satisfy his conscience, in reality ill at ease, on the subject of slavery.

The first of these is actually founded on Scripture.

Ham, who was the father of Canaan, had behaved with less honour towards his father intoxicated with wine, than Shem and Japheth: And "Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his younger son had done to him. And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." Gen. ix, 24—27.

Now, who is presumptuous enough at this period to affirm who are the descendants of Ham, and who the descendants of Shem and of Japheth? Or rather, who is presumptuous enough to say that the European—the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt, are the decendants of

Shem and Japheth, and the African negro race the descendant of Ham, the father of Canaan? And who shall presumptuously say, *what* it is to be "a servant of servants;" and that slavery, and such slavery as exists in the United States, *without* holy marriage and *without* the honour which a child is enjoined to show to his father and mother, is precisely that condition entailed upon Canaan when he was doomed to be "a servant of servants to his brethren?"

It is really beneath the dignity of the subject, and little less than sacreligious, to notice farther such a perversion of holy writ. But I *may* add that in the brief descriptions of Noah's family, it is *four* times stated that it consisted of Noah and *his wife;* and of his three sons and their wives. How then did it happen that Shem with his descendants were white, and Ham and his descendants jet black?

But admitting that these things were pre-ordained by the determinate council of God, what has presumptuous man to do with them? "It is impossible," saith Scripture, "but that offences will come; but woe to *him* through whom they come." Luke xvii, 1.

Others have attempted to prove that *slavery* is sanctioned by Scripture.

It is quite true that slavery is permitted in the Old Testament, and that unresisting *submission*, except when the law of Christ forbids, is inculcated in the New. But in what Scripture is *United States* slavery, with its degradation and its adultery, permitted?—in what Scripture is dissoluble marriage or polygamy permitted?

—in what Scripture is man-stealing, and the separation of husband and wife, and of parent and child, by sale, permitted?

Let us be assured that no such iniquity and crime is sanctioned by Scripture.

There is no end to such subterfuges. Some pro-slavery minds have contended that the African is a lower race of man than the European, or of a lower order of being than man!

I should not notice this perversion of the truth, if I did not perceive that, however it may be sincerely adopted by some erring philosophers, it has an oblique and sinister and not very generous bearing on the question of slavery, in the pro-slavery mind.

No hypothesis of difference of origin, race or species, or by whatever other name it may be named, can take from the African people that which they have nobly earned for themselves, a well-founded reputation —for gratitude, fidelity, loyalty, of all which truthful biography and history record innumerable instances;—for ability in commerce, in the useful arts, in agriculture, of which living instances abound;—for mathematics; for music and eloquence; and for military genius, and political ability and integrity.

Be they, or be they not, of the same, or of a different, race or species from the proud Anglo-Saxon, no man of truth and sincerity can deny that they have given proof of manly virtues; and my own conviction is that they are calculated, and I trust they are destined, to form, one day, in the United States too, their home

equally by birth and by choice,—*the finest free peasantry in the world.*

This is sufficient for my present object. In a future Letter, I propose to discuss, still more at length, the character of the African, slave and free, for I do not limit his capability to such pursuits as are merely worthy and useful; and I cannot even now pass over the fact that an African once calculated, for several years, the difficult and laborious problems of an almanac, and that another rose to military distinction as the liberator of his people and the protector of his country.

Who then can for a moment dispute the talents and humanity of such men?

It is not unusual to hear persons speaking of the Providence of God in ordaining that the poor African should be carried into American slavery, in order that he may one day carry back American civilization and religion to his barbarous and benighted forefathers! Civilization and religion! What civilization and religion does the poor African slave learn in the heart of the southern States of Georgia, of Alabama, of Louisiana, of Mississippi?

Another idea which is frequently propounded by the slave-owner, and with more truth, is, that there is something 'patriarchal' in the relation between the master and his slaves. I have witnessed this myself with the utmost satisfaction.

There might be much more of this kindly relation. If, for example, instead of merely feeding, clothing, and lodging the poor slave in his degradation and ignorance, the master had him taught the elements

of knowledge, inculcating every moral virtue, every relative duty towards his wife, his children, his country. Let us henceforth frame a patriarchal institution indeed. Let us frame an institution based on instruction, discipline; holy and indissoluble marriage; freedom; inalienable rights.

Lastly, another hypothesis, for it is a hypothesis, is that involved in the project of the expatriation of the free African to Liberia. This idea is distinctly one of the pro-slavery mind. It originated in the slave States of Virginia and Maryland; and the idea of a generous and general emancipation is, I am now convinced, foreign to it. The true idea attached to this scheme is one of riddance of a people against whom an insensate prejudice prevails, and of a supposed benefit, not to them, but to the United States. Any benefit to the African here or in Africa must be secondary and accidental. That the free African may carry civilization and religion to his forefathers, he himself must first be systematically educated, disciplined, and civilized; and this essential preliminary step has been hitherto violently opposed. That first step is embraced, for the first time, in the institution of—self-emancipation.

There is one aspect of the question in regard to the African race which always shocks me by its sheer hypocrisy. Every thing is 'an ordination of God!' That the poor African should be brought to the United States, in order that he may, though kept forcibly in the darkest ignorance, carry back civilization and religion, is—*an ordination of Providence!*

## LETTER XV.

*Free-State Legislation: the Black Act of Connecticut; the Black Laws of Ohio, of Illinois; &c.*

It is but just that each State should, according to its various legislation, be presented before the nations, for respect or for censure.

In general the northern States have freed themselves from slavery. To their honour let this be recorded. But there remains the *second* slavery to which I have many times adverted; and I fear that, confronted with this second slavery, the free States, so called, have much occasion to blush for shame.

Connecticut, Ohio, and Illinois, of the free States, have most disgraced themselves in their legislation against the African race.

The 'Black Act' of Connecticut was aimed against the *education* of children of the African race. It was enacted in 1833. It was regarded as execrable, and has been repealed. Its history is given in eloquent and indignant terms by Mr. Jay*. I wish I had space for every word.

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* Writings on Slavery; 1854; p. 39.

And, especially, I wish I could adequately extol the conduct of that martyr to the cause of the education of African female children, Miss Crandall.

For her benevolent efforts this heroic lady was persecuted, fined, imprisoned, and finally had her house pulled down and her school dispersed—in the *free* State of Connecticut!

And these persecutors are the first to calumniate the poor African, and the most energetic advocates of colonization! They would first deprive him of education and discipline, then speak of him as ignorant, degraded, and idle, and then export him to some distant land.

To the same eloquent writer* I refer you for the account of the odious legislation of Ohio, in reference to the African people.

As the Black Act of Connecticut was aimed at the *education* of poor African children, the legislation of Ohio was intended to oppose the quiet *residence* and *occupation* of the African race within the State. Though not repealed like the Black Act of Connecticut, this law was found too execrable to be generally enforced. Together, they present a deplorable picture of despotism and cruelty.

It is pitiable to see Illinois imitating the example of Ohio in recent 'Black Law' enactments.

From Jefferson to Mr. Latrobe the idea prevails that the ultimate emancipation of this race is inevitable, and

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* P. 376—

yet that it is impossible that the European and African races should live under the same government and on the same soil. M. de Tocqueville and Dr. Chickering agree that there is an inevitable danger of servile war to the southern States from the rapid increase of the African race within their limits.

I am persuaded that these events are only true, if the African race be kept in bondage or treated with injustice. Let emancipation, and especially self-emancipation, with its self-discipline, be accomplished; and let justice towards the emancipated African be done; and then what motive will remain for animosity or revolt? What self-interest will be wanting to preserve *peace* between the two races? None. None.

Does the husband, the parent, the citizen, with every right, and the quiet possession of a cottage, a garden, a farm, usually turn rebel against a just and liberal government?

Do these Africans require more than justice? Does the slave require more than a just liberty?—or the so-called free, more than equal laws, and protection, and civil rights, with the European? Let every American answer these questions truly and faithfully. They are addressed EQUALLY to the north and the south,—and not less against oppression than against slavery itself,—not less against '*Black*' legislation than against slave-holding, slave-breeding, and slave-selling.

It is against *in*justice, not against justice, that the human heart and spirit revolt.

## LETTER XVI.

*Emancipation; without Amalgamation; a Necessity.*

A STRANGE idea has seized the minds of many writers and politicians—that emancipation of the African race cannot take place without its amalgamation with the European.

This idea was announced by Jefferson. It is repeated by M. de Tocqueville, Mr. Latrobe, &c. I regard it as a mere hypothesis, like many others of which the calumniated African is the victim.

I have been much with individuals of this race, in Canada, in the free States, and in the slave States; and I may add, that I and those who were with me never felt that we could not associate with them on friendly terms.

There is no such antipathy towards the free African in Canada, nor towards the slave in the south; why should it exist in the so-called free States? It does not exist in the English breast; why should it exist in the American? It did not exist when the free African was fighting America's battles, in the revolutionary war, when the white and black soldier messed together; why should it exist in peace, when his aid is no longer necessary?

The hypothesis and the feeling are equally, in my opinion, unworthy of a great and good people.

Time was when the Hebrew nation were so treated by other nations. No amalgamation has taken place between them, and yet the Hebrew has nobly vindicated *his* right to citizenship.

I repeat that I regard the antipathy of the European towards the African as unworthy. I view it as an injustice ignobly depriving him of education and employment, property, and a home in the United States. It is a feeling which true religion would effectually obliterate.

A friend of mine, of the Hebrew nation, formerly practised as a barrister in Jamaica. Two friends of his, who were also barristers, and possessed of exalted talent, were of African descent. What then is the meaning of this absurd prejudice towards the same people in the United States, a prejudice tinctured, I must say, with no nobleness, generosity, or philanthropy?

Let all tyranny and despotism cease; give the African education and opportunity; let him acquire the rights of a husband, a father, a citizen; let him acquire wealth and station; and then we shall hear no more of all this antipathy and calumny. As the Hebrew nation has done before, and does still, the African people will marry amongst themselves. They will, at the same time, by their faithfulness and their loyalty, secure the good opinion of those by whom they are at present unjustly despised and persecuted.

Such an event appears the more desirable. At the same time it must be remembered that Jefferson himself had no such antipathy towards the African as *to prevent* his having a family of mulatto children. And it is well known that the best blood of Virginia flows in veins sold in the Rotunda at New Orleans.

In every case, eventual emancipation must be regarded as a *necessity*. Already there are 3,412,238 of the African race, 238,187 free, and 3,204,051 slaves, amongst 6,222,418 of the European. The increase of the slave is more rapid than that of the European. Emancipation—Yes, *self*-emancipation *must* come. It is for the slave-holder to make that emancipation at once safe and beneficial to all.

Let injustice be continued to the poor oppressed African, and it will one day lead to revolt and servile war. Let justice be done to him, and he will repay it by—loyalty!

## LETTER XVII.

*Character of the African; Banneker; Toussaint; the Soldier of* 1814; *&c.*

I HAVE carefully studied the character of the African people; and I am persuaded that they are capable of great things.

Hitherto this race has been entirely deprived of *education.* In Africa they had it not. In the United States they are actually and expressly deprived of education *by law!* What is the character of *any* people without instruction? Look at the illiterate Irishman; yes, and at the illiterate Englishman! Is he one jot above the African slave?

In the very ignorance of slavery, the African is docile, kindly, attached to a kind master, faithful.

When emancipated from slavery, the African, in spite of the want of education, frequently becomes respectable, in the lower ranks of occupation; viz. as a waiter, a coachman, a white-washer, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a gardener, a farmer,—in a word, as artisans and as peasantry.

Aided by education, which is frequently self-education, the African becomes a worthy preacher, accord-

ing to his knowledge, eloquent, pathetic. To this I can bear personal testimony. I once attended, as a mere looker-on, a chapel in Baltimore, and heard, from black lips, a beautiful account of the life of Christ. I once, in like manner, attended the 'African church' in Richmond, and heard from a warm African heart a most touching prayer.

I need scarcely advert to the talent of the African for *music*. This is universally acknowledged.

But the African is capable of other and higher achievements. Of this I shall adduce an example or two.

The first of these is that of Mr. Benjamin Banneker, who, though but self-educated, for several years calculated an *Almanac*. I have not seen a copy of this work. But it was noticed, with approbation, by Pitt, Fox, and Wilberforce, in the British House of Commons. To it, the following letter of its author to Mr. Jefferson, with this gentleman's reply, refers; and I think all unprejudiced men will pronounce it *admirable*. Who will, after this, deny that the African race is capable of great things?

Maryland, Baltimore County, Near Ellicott's Lower Mills,
August 19, 1791.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Secretary of State.

SIR,

I am fully sensible of the greatness of that freedom which I take with you on the present occasion; a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflected on that distinguished and dignified station in which you stand, and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

I suppose it is a truth too well attested to you, to need a proof here,

that we are a race of beings who have long laboured under the abuse and censure of the world, that we have long been considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

Sir, I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature than many others, that you are measurably friendly and well disposed toward us, and that you are willing and ready to lend your aid and assistance to our relief from those many distresses and numerous calamities to which we are reduced.

Now, Sir, if this is founded in truth, I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevails with respect to us, and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are that one universal Father hath given being to us all, and that he hath not only made us all of one flesh, but that he hath also without partiality afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that, however variable we may be in society or religion, however diversified in situation or colour, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.

Sir, if these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensible duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who profess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burthen or oppression they may unjustly labour under; and this, I apprehend, a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead all to.

Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves, and for those inesteemable laws which preserve to you the rights of human nature, was founded on sincerity, you could not be but solicitous that every individual, of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof; neither could you rest satisfied, short of the most active diffusion of your exertions, in order to their promotions from any state of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

Sir, I freely and cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race, and in that colour which is natural to them of the deepest dye, and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, that I now confess to you, that I am not under that State of tyrannical thraldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed; but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings, which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favoured, and which, I hope, you will wil-

lingly allow you have received from the immediate hand of that Being, from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

Sir, suffer me to recall to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the British Crown were exerted with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a State of Servitude; look back, I intreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on that time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquillity which you enjoy you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar blessing of Heaven.

This, Sir, was a time in which you clearly saw into the injustice of a State of Slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition, it was now, Sir, that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and valuable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all succeeding ages. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Here, Sir, was a time in which your tender feelings for yourselves had engaged you thus to declare, you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great valuation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings to which you were entitled by nature; but, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of those rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren under groaning captivity and cruel oppression, that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act which you professedly detested in others, with respect to yourselves.

Sir, I suppose that your knowledge of the situation of my brethren is too extensive to need a recital here; neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you and all others, to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to them, and as Job proposed to his friends, "Put your souls in their souls stead," thus shall your hearts be enlarged with kindness and benevolence toward them, and thus shall you need neither the direction of myself, or others, in what manner to proceed herein.

And now, Sir, although my sympathy and affection for my brethren had caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candour

and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you that it was not originally my design; but that, having taken up my pen, in order to direct to you as a present, a copy of an Almanac, which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation, Sir, is the production of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life; for, having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity herein through my own assiduous application to astronomical study, in which I need not to recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter. And although I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor being taken up at the Federal Territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott, yet finding myself under several engagements to printers of this State to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence. I industriously applied myself thereto, which, I hope, I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy, a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favourably receive; and although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand-writing.

And now, Sir, I shall conclude,

And subscribe myself with the most profound respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. Banneker.

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, Philadelphia.

N.B. Any communication to me may be had by a direction to Mr Elias Ellicott, merchant in Baltimore Town.

B. B.

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Mr. Jefferson's Answer to the above Letter.

Philadelphia, August 30, 1791.

Sir,

I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th instant, and for the Almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colours of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existance, both in Africa and America. I can add with truth, that nobody

wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit. I have taken the liberty of sending your Almanac to Monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and Member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it as a document to which your whole colour had a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.

I am with great esteem, SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THO. JEFFERSON.

MR. BENJAMIN BANNEKER,
Near Ellicott's Lower Mills, Baltimore County.

Having adduced the example of Banneker in proof of the ability of the African race in the exact sciences, I now proceed to cite the case of an African of pure blood, *the Negro Patriot of Hayti*, having the genius of the soldier, combined with the disinterestedness of the citizen. As a soldier indeed, Toussaint L'Ouverture has been compared to Napoleon; both as a soldier and as a citizen, he might, except in his misfortunes, be compared to our own Wellington, or with Washington.

Toussaint was born in 1743, and spent fifty years of his life as a *slave*, in St. Domingo or Hayti.

During the troubles of this island, about the commencement of the French revolution, Toussaint became a soldier, general, governor, in the ranks of the African race, at first slave, afterwards free.

In this career, he excited the jealousy of Napoleon, who became his enemy, his treacherous traitor, and his murderer. By his orders, Toussaint was deceived,

seized, carried to France, immured in the dungeon of Joux, on the Doubs, amongst the Jura mountains, and starved to death!—a deed which was followed a few years afterwards by a just retribution.

I have introduced this sketch, in order that I may adduce the letters of Toussaint, addressed to his persecutor, when a prisoner on board the Hero, and in his dungeon. Who can read them without admiration and tears?

I.

On Board the Hero, 1 Thermidor, An X (12th July, 1802).

*General Toussaint L'Ouverture to General Bonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic.*

Citizen First Consul:

I will not conceal my faults from you. I have committed some. What man is exempt? I am quite ready to avow them. After the word of honour of the Captain-General who represents the French Government, after a proclamation addressed to the colony, in which he promised to throw the veil of oblivion over the events which have taken place in Saint Domingo, I, as you did on the 18th Brumaire, withdrew into the bosom of my family. Scarcely had a month passed away, when evil-disposed persons, by means of intrigues, effected my ruin with the General-in-Chief, by filling his mind with distrust against me. I received a letter from him, which ordered me to act in conjunction with General Brunet. I obeyed. Accompanied by two persons I went to Gonaïves, where I was arrested. They sent me on board the frigate Creola, I know not for what reason, without any other clothes than those I had on. The next day my house was exposed to pillage; my wife and my children were arrested; they had nothing, not even the means to cover themselves.

Citizen First Consul—a mother, fifty years of age, may deserve the indulgence and kindness of a generous and liberal nation; she has no account to render; I alone ought to be responsible for my conduct to the Government I have served. I have too high an idea of the greatness and the justice of the First Magistrate of the French people, to doubt a moment of its impartiality. I indulge the feeling that the balance, in its hands, will not incline to one side more than to another. I claim its generosity.

Salutations and Respect,

Toussaint L'Ouverture.

II.

In the Dungeon of Fort Joux,
this 30 Fructidor, An XI (17 September, 1802).

General, and First Consul:

The respect and the submission which I could wish for ever graven on my heart—(*here words are wanting*). If I have sinned in doing my duty, it is contrary to my intentions; if I was wrong in forming the constitution, it was through my great desire to do good; it was through having employed too much zeal, too much self-love, thinking I was pleasing the Government under which I was; if the formalities which I ought to have observed were neglected, it was through inattention. I have had the misfortune to incur your wrath; but as to fidelity and probity, I am strong in my conscience, and I dare affirm, that among all the servants of the State no one is more honest than myself. I was one of your soldiers, and the first servant of the Republic in Saint Domingo; but now I am wretched, ruined, dishonoured, a victim of my own services; let your sensibility be moved at my position. You are too great in feeling, and too just not to pronounce a judgment as to my destiny. I charge General Cafarelli, your Aide-de-Camp, to put my report into your hands. I beg you to take it into your best consideration. His honour, his frankness, have forced me to open my heart to him.

Salutation and Respect,
Toussaint L'Ouverture.

III.

In the Dungeon of Fort Joux,
this 7 Vendémiaire, An XI (29th September, 1802).

General, and First Consul:

I beg you, in the name of God, in the name of humanity, to cast a favourable eye on my appeal, on my position, and my family; direct your great genius to my conduct, to the manner in which I have served my country, to all the dangers I have run in discharging my duty. I have served my country with fidelity and probity; I have served it with zeal and courage; I have been devoted to the Government under which I was; I have sacrificed my blood, and a part of what I possessed, to serve my country, and, in spite of my efforts, all my labours have been in vain. You will permit me, First Consul, to say to you, with all the respect and submission which I owe you, that the Government has been completely deceived in regard to Toussaint L'Ouverture, in regard to one of its most zealous and courageous servants in Saint Domingo. I laboured long to acquire honour and glory from the Government, and to gain the esteem of my fellow-citizens, and I am now, for my reward, crowned with thorns

and the most marked ingratitude. I do not deny the faults I may have committed, and for which I beg your pardon. But those faults do not deserve the fourth of the punishment I have received, nor the treatment I have undergone.

First Consul, it is a misfortune to me that I am not known to you. If you had thoroughly known me while I was at Saint Domingo, you would have done me more justice; my heart is good. I am not learned, I am ignorant; but my father, who is now blind, showed me the road to virtue and honour, and I am very strong in my conscience in that matter; and if I had not been devoted to the Government, I should not have been here —that is a truth! I am wretched, miserable, a victim of all my services. All my life I have been in active service, and since the revolution of the 10th of August, 1790, I have constantly been in the service of my country. Now I am a prisoner, with no power to do anything; sunk in grief, my health is impaired.

I have asked you for my freedom, that I may labour, that I may gain my subsistence and support my unhappy family. I call on your greatness, on your genius, to pronounce a judgment on my destiny. Let your heart be softened and touched by my position and my misfortunes.

I salute you with profound respect,

(Signed) TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

Let us remember that the doer of these deeds and the writer of these words was of pure African blood, without education, and during fifty years—a slave! In him were genius, bravery, generosity, and disinterestedness, conjoined with every private virtue, the whole being crowned with the most perfect abhorrence of slavery, and love of freedom. Toussaint was not more the saviour of his country, than the deliverer of his people from slavery.

*The African Hero of Hayti* was also, in a moment of imminent danger, the faithful protector of his former master and mistress and their property!

There are not wanting other instances of noble conduct amongst the people of pure African blood, in the midst of these fearful scenes.

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Benjamin Banneker, of pure African descent and self-educated, calculated almanacs for the year 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795. These almanacs were adduced in the British House of Commons, in proof of the capabilities of the African race, and one of them was sent to Jefferson and forwarded by him to Condorcet.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was born of African parents, in slavery, in St. Domingo, being in colour and feature a perfect negro. He gave proof of military genius and of a pure loyalty, and was "one of the most extraordinary men of a period in which extraordinary men were numerous." Of him, the French General said—"It is this Black, this Spartacus, who is destined to avenge the wrongs of his race." He became Dictator, and conducted himself nobly and honourably. The French became jealous of his power. He finally died in the dungeon of Joux, among the Jura mountains, by the order of Bonaparte, on the 27th of April, 1803.

In his relations to his country, to his family, to his own people, Toussaint was equally great and good.

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I had the satisfaction of meeting with Dr. Pennington at New York. He is of pure African blood and descent, and was a slave until the age of twenty, when he became a fugitive from slavery. He is now

a Presbyterian clergyman, the beloved of his flock, learned, able, estimable.

I may here mention that I met with Dr. M'Cune Smith in New York, and with Mr. Frederick Douglas in Rochester. To the former, as a member of my own profession, I can bear this testimony, that he is amongst the very best-informed physicians of the United States. Of the latter, I need only speak as of 'the coloured man eloquent,' a designation, which, if I may judge of his writings, he emphatically deserves. I have *never* read any thing so touching as his "Address to the Coloured National Convention, in

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But I must not weary your patience with more examples of talent in the African race. I refer you rather to the "Tribute for the Negro," by Wilson Armistead, published at Manchester in 1848.

A thousand facts attest the loyalty and the bravery, the attachment and the fidelity, of the African race. I extract, with extreme satisfaction, the testimony of General Jackson to their noble and exemplary conduct, in 1814:

FIRST PROCLAMATION.

EXTRACTS.

Head Quarters, 7th Military District, Mobile, Sept. 21st, 1814.

*To the Free Coloured Inhabitants of Louisiana:*

Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights, in which your country is engaged.

This no longer shall exist.

As sons of freedom, you are now called on to defend our most inestimable blessings. As *Americans*, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally round the standard of the eagle, to defend all which is dear to existence.

Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause without remunerating you for the services rendered.

In the sincerity of a soldier, and in the language of truth, I address you:—To every noble-hearted free man of colour, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty in money and land now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz. 124 dollars in money, and 160 acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will also be entitled to *the same*. Monthly pay and daily rations and clothes, furnished *to any American soldier*.

The Major-General commanding will select officers for your Government from YOUR WHITE FELLOW-CITIZENS. Your non-commissioned officers will be selected from yourselves. Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

ANDREW JACKSON,
Major-General Commanding.

*Niles' Register*, Dec. 3, 1814, vol. vii, p. 205.

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## SECOND PROCLAMATION.

*To the Free People of Colour:*

Soldiers! when on the banks of the Mobile I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your *white* fellow-citizens, I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign.

I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you, as well as ourselves, had to defend what *man* holds most dear—his parents, wife, children, and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found among you a noble enthusiasm which leads to the performance of great things.

Soldiers! the President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the representatives

of the American people will give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your General anticipates them in applauding your noble ardour.

The enemy approaches—his vessels cover our lakes—*our brave citizens are united*, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most glory, its noblest reward. By order,

THOMAS BUTLER, Aide-de-Camp.

* * * * * *

In the preceding paragraphs, the African, in the cases of Banneker and Toussaint, has been permitted to speak for himself. Totally without early education, the former, *self*-educated, rose to eminence in the difficult career of astronomical calculation. The latter, after *fifty* years of slavery, *self*-made, rose to the highest rank of a soldier and a citizen.

There is *genius* then amongt the African people, genius which has burst forth out of ignorance and slavery.

Of the *educated* African, of an *educated* African people,—of their intellectual and moral endowments, unfettered by prejudice,—the people of the United States *can* form no idea; for they have never seen such a person; and such a people has never yet been presented to the world's observation.

Not only have uneducated individuals of the African race shown themselves worthy of honour and praise, but uneducated numbers of this people have acted meritoriously.

In Hayti and other of the West India islands, both individuals and people, of the African race, have pre-

sented examples of loyalty and faithfulness, of patience under sufferings, and of moderation in victory, which must excite the admiration of all candid minds.

I beg to refer you to Dr. Beard's Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture. You will be pleased with the details of the noble conduct of Africans, and of the African race generally, in *their* "war of independence."

I refer you once more to the "Tribute for the Negro," and especially to the account of Alexander Crumwell, of pure African origin, and one of the four episcopally ordained clergymen in the United States; and of Paul Cuffé, an "intelligent, enterprising, and benevolent negro, the son of John Cuffé, a negro dragged from his home and sold into slavery," who, to do good to his fellow Africans, *thrice* visited Africa!

But I must not weary you. One day I may do more ample justice to this subject. At present, I will only further adduce a most interesting paragraph from the recent work of Dr. Davy on "*The West Indies before and after Emancipation*:"

"As labourers, both women and men are allowed to be efficient, and, with ordinary motives to exertion, such as fair wages, justly and regularly paid, and liberal treatment, not wanting in industry. It is a mistake often committed to suppose that the African is by nature idle and indolent, less inclined to work than the European. It is a mistake, I perceive, even fallen into by some of the friends of the race. Thus a son of their distinguished advocate, Mr. Wilberforce, the present Bishop of Oxford, speaks of them as 'a people who naturally hated labour, and who would sink in absolute indolence from the want of the proper stimulants to mental exertion.' He makes this remark, comparing them with 'our peasants at home, who love labour for the sake of labour.' This, I have no hesitation in remarking, is a mistake founded on ignorance. What I have witnessed convinces me of it. The vigorous, quick walk of the negro going to his work, the untiring zest and exertions made by negro

lads on a holiday at cricket, not in the shade, but fully exposed to the sun; the extra labour of the negro when cultivating his own plot of ground in propitious, showery weather, often commencing before dawn, by moonlight, and recurring to it after the day's work; the amount of work they willingly undertake;—in India or Ceylon, each riding or carriage horse is attended by at least two persons, a groom, called in the latter a horse-keeper, and a grass-cutter; in Barbadoes, one man will, with the aid of a stable boy, or sometimes without any aid, take charge of three horses, act also as a coachman, and make himself otherwise useful. These are circumstances which have fully convinced me that he neither hates labour, nor is naturally indolent when he has a motive to exertion. Other circumstances might be adduced in corroboration, such as—to mention one or two—the willingness with which he undertakes task work, and the satisfaction that, when so engaged, he commonly gives; the industry and perseverance he displays in reclaiming ground, an acre or two, or less, which he may have purchased in fee, and from a waste, bit by bit, changing its character to that of fertility, very much after the manner of the Maltese peasant, breaking up rocks, collecting soil, forming, in brief, little "campi artificiali," and out-doing even the Maltese peasant in one respect—viz. in turning to account each small portion as soon as reclaimed, by cropping it at once. He who has witnessed, as I have, this indefatigable and provident industry, will be disposed probably to over-rate rather than under-rate the activity of the negro, and his love of, or rather I would say his non-aversion to, labour; for I believe comparatively few of our English peasants truly 'love labour for the sake of labour.' In the best of them, labour is an acquired habit, and habit, according to the old adage, is second nature, and so too with the negro."

In one word, from all I have read, heard, and seen, my mind is convinced that education alone is required to make the African the equal generally of the European.

In the United States, when the iron hand of despotism is removed, with all its injustice, and *true* republican principles introduced, with all their good, the fetters which now bind and enslave the poor African in mind and body will fall off, and this race will become

the finest peasants and artisans, the best citizens, and, if need be, the bravest and most loyal soldiers.

I conclude this subject by the following letter just received from a benevolent friend, a native, and for years a resident, in Jamaica:

* * * * * * * * *, 7th August, 1854.

My Dear Dr. Marshall Hall,

I am sorry that I cannot go at length into the subject which you mention, as I am surrounded at this moment with engagements of a pressing character. But so far as a general opinion is concerned, I may state at once that my opinion of the African race is favourable—highly so. I believe them to be as susceptible of the influences of civilization as any other race—but unhappily they have never had the chances that others have had. Civilization with its benefits does not arise from *within*. I believe there is no instance on record of a nation's rising to any eminence without contact with other nations—hardly so of emerging from pure barbarism, save by means of the customs, habits, or views instilled or acquired by means of intercourse with other communities. In the case of the African, he has verified this axiom by the very fact, that although taken from his native country a barbarian, to live and die as a slave elsewhere, he has yet risen considerably above his earlier condition, and has fallen *naturally* into the improved habits of the society around him, notwithstanding the restrictions upon his progress which his condition as a slave has necessarily imposed. I was in my earlier life brought up in the midst of slavery, and I can with perfect satisfaction to my conscience say, that for fidelity, natural kindliness of disposition, and a desire to elevate himself, the African is not exceeded by any other race. In all the moral affections I consider him rather above than below the average of mankind. His religious faculties or susceptibilities are *peculiarly* strong. I have heard a negro pray at religious meetings, and nothing could exceed the aptitude of expression or the deep fervour of the sentiments expressed. I have known numbers of *native* (i. e. West Indian, but yet African) preachers, and the contrast between the white and black preacher of the same condition was by no means unfavourable to the latter. The negro is also sagacious and quick in acquiring knowledge. When a boy, I used to frequent a Sunday school for the purpose of teaching; and in a short time—after but a very few weeks—I have known men and women from thirty to forty years old, with but the weekly instruction of the school, able to read their Bible—to repeat hymns and other religious ser-

vices by heart. In fact, the desire to "*learn*" I have always regarded as a strong feature in the character of the black—and on this account, as well as on account of the desire so strongly manifested by him, "to cut a figure," as it were, and to stand out above even his own race, I have also regarded the natural tendency of the negro to be *ambitious*. On my father's estate (for I must plead guilty to having been born a slave-holder) there were men and women as intelligent, faithful and trustworthy amongst the peasantry and household servants as could be found in any part of the world, or amongst any people whatsoever. There were slaves also (blacks) whose rooms were furnished with excellent mahogany furniture, and other household implements in proportion, procured with their own savings or private earnings.

It was no uncommon thing for the black slave to own one or two horses, and to bring his provisions to market on his own horse, or donkey, or mule, week by week on the usual holiday, which was on that account the market day. I think one or two such facts go much further even than argument, to show that the unfortunate African is a man created as other men 'in the image of God,' possessing the same intellectual powers, moral affections and susceptibility. Whether in intellectual *power* he is equal to the white, is a question that has *yet* to be decided. So far as opportunities have hitherto been presented for solving this question, I do not hesitate to express my opinion that he is in no wise inferior to his white fellow-man.

Unhappily the unwise provisions of the British emancipation act and its infamous administration, acting with other causes subsequently, have so far injured the interests of the African elsewhere as to have represented his emancipation in the West Indies as a failure. The British Colonies have undoubtedly suffered *directly* from emancipation; but they have suffered far more from the injudicious manner in which it was effected and carried out; unaccompanied as it was too by any provision for the moral or intellectual training of so large a mass of ignorant and even semibarbarous persons. The slave of yesterday found himself a free man to-day, invested with all the rights of citizenship. His only idea of life hitherto had been "labour." His only idea of freedom *was abstinence from work*,' so that the moment the emancipation took place there was a withdrawal of labour, or it became so scarce and uncertain that hardly any price could procure it; and when procured, no proprietor could cultivate on his estate at such high rates. In countries with extensive tracts of uncultivated land and a fruitful soil, the negro peasantry would not and did not at first experience any inconvenience by this refusal to labour for former masters; but in time the effect upon the planters reacted upon the peasantry, and the result has been (arising, I must add, from *other causes* as well) great depression upon all classes of the community in the different colonies.

It has been fatal to the negro in many ways. It has retarded the progress—social and moral—that he had promised and was acquiring, and it has thrown him back into a condition of poverty and semibarbarism. Schools and chapels, at one time numerous and spreading, have been closed from want of means (formerly furnished by the thriving labourer, even when a slave) to support them; and I fear it will be a very long time, indeed, before the African's friend will have had a fair chance of testing before the world the true qualities and capabilities of the emancipated African.

I have now to add the great pleasure I derived from a perusal of your letters to an American paper. With *some* qualification, I think your scheme for self-emancipation wise, and I agree *fully* with all you say in favour of the unhappy African.

I remain, my Dear Dr. Marshall Hall, yours most truly,

* * * *  * * * * *.

Having had no opportunity of seeing educated Africans, it is impossible that we should be able to judge of their character under such circumstances. Let us make the noble and glorious experiment and ascertain the influence of education and discipline on a nature known to be susceptible. Let us see whether these *slaves* may not become excellent and valuable citizens. Let us grant them the following privileges:

1. *Indissoluble Marriage;*
2. *Education and Discipline;*
3. *Self-Emancipation;*
4. *All a Citizen's Rights.*

If need be, let us establish a vigilant *Rural Police.*

In doing the African race this simple justice, we shall exchange his condition from that of the abject slave to that of the respectable, intelligent, and energetic peasant and artisan.

Abolition would deliver the African from the first slavery, it is true; but only to deliver him over to the second. The scheme of self-emancipation, with its implied education, discipline, and elevation—this plan and nothing *less*—would deliver him from *both*.

Let us begin with enacting a perfect *code noir*—perfect in purity and equity. Let its *first* clause exchange adultery for holy marriage; let its *second* exchange slavery for citizenship. Let us cease from derogatory and unjust views of the African race.

## LETTER XVIII.

*Slavery: its Cruelties and Indignities.*

* * * * * *

I HAVE not hitherto written to you of the cruelties of slavery. This has usually been the first topic with anti-slavery writers. But I have noticed things that are worse than cruelties.

The cruelties of slavery are, at the most, *physical*. I have told you of *moral* and *intellectual* inflictions; of hearts rent asunder and of minds crushed.

Even of the cruelties inflicted by slavery, I think the indignity the worst part. I once saw the 'paddle' laid over the *glutei*. Each stroke induced a yell, and such quivering of those muscles as I never beheld before, although a physiologist. And yet, more than by this, I was affected by seeing the poor creature, when loosened, for he had been tied hands and feet to a board, rise and draw on his clothes, and hasten to the water-pipe for thirst. I felt indignant that one man should have the power and the heart so to treat another; and I shall feel this to the last day of my life.

The 'cow-hide,' the whip, and the 'paddle' are the agents of this physical cruelty and indignity. There

are other modes of punishment. One of the most dreaded is being 'sold south,' sundered from every tie, and sent forth into one of those enormous south State prisons of which I wrote in a former letter, never to return.

Hand-cuffs; the 'coffle;' the public sale by auction; the ultimate destination, follow.

And if the poor slave should venture to attempt an escape, he is branded, and pursued by the bloodhound, and the gun!

I have throughout these letters wished to avoid all exasperating details. On this occasion, I shall merely adduce an advertisement or two, to establish the facts, leaving them to your own meditation and commentary.

The first of these is extracted from the *Raleigh Standard,* North Carolina.

"Run away, a negro woman and two children. A few days before she went off, I *burnt* her with a hot iron, on the *left* side of her face. I *tried* to make the letter M.

"M. RICKS."

"July 18, 1838."

The second extract is taken from the *Sumner County Whig,* Alabama.

"NEGRO DOGS."

"The undersigned, having bought the entire pack of negro dogs (of the Hay and Allen stock), he now purposes to catch runaway negroes. His charges will be three dollars per day for *hunting,* and fifteen dollars for *catching* a runaway. He resides three miles and a half north of Livingston, near the Lower Jones Bluff Road.

"WILLIAM GAMBEL."

"Nov. 6, 1845.—6 m."

The third advertisement is copied from the *Wilmington Advertiser*, North Carolina:

"Runaway, my negro man, Richard. A reward of twenty-five dollars will be given for his apprehension, *dead* or *alive*. Satisfactory *proof* will only be required of his being *killed*.

"DURANT H. RHODES."

"July 13, 1838."

Even on these things I add no commentary.

Is it *not* true that the poor slave has been flogged fearfully? that he has been branded in the hand, on the cheek, or on the forehead? that he has been hunted, yes, and worried to death, by bloodhounds? that he has been shot, when his escape was otherwise inevitable? Is it possible to read or think of these things without a shudder?

What people then, what nation, will retain, amidst such feeling, such an institution?

# MAP OF THE UNFRIENDLINESS TO THE AFRICAN RACE.

*The depth of its* — *represents the degree of Unfriendliness of the European to the African Race in the Several States.* *(See page 121.)*

| | | Prop. of the Free Blacks to the Whites. one in |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Maryland* | 5.6 |
| 2 | *Louisiana* | 14.6 |
| 3 | *Virginia* | 16.5 |
| 4 | *N. Carolina* | 20.2 |
| 5 | *S. Carolina* | 30.7 |
| 6 (R.I.) | *Rhode Island* | 40 |
| 7 | *Pennsylvania* | 42 |
| 8 (CONN.T) | *Connecticut* | 47.7 |
| 9 | *New York* | 62.4 |
| 10 | *Kentucky* | 76 |
| 11 | *Ohio* | 77.6 |
| 12 | *Indiana* | 87.2 |
| 13 (MASS.TS) | *Massachusetts* | 109.5 |
| 14 | *Tennessee* | 118.2 |
| 15 | *Illinois* | 156.6 |
| 16 | *Georgia* | 180 |
| 17 | *Alabama* | 194 |
| 18 | *Mississippi* | 328 |
| 19 | *Maine* | 447.5 |
| 20 (VERM.T) | *Vermont* | 447.7 |
| 21 (N.HAMPS.) | *New Hampshire* | 634.4 |

*John Bower Sculp.*

## LETTER XIX.

*Degree of Friendship towards the African.*

I MUST now beg your attention to a Table, representing the proportion of *free* Africans in the different States, to the white, or the slave, population. I regard the numbers representing this proportion, as representing, at the same time, the degree of *friendliness* of the people, or of the climate, to the African race.

*Proportion of the free African to the Whites and to the Slaves.*

| States. | Proportion to the Whites. | | Proportion to the Slaves. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | One in | | |
| 19. Maine..... | 9. | 447.5 | | |
| 21. N. Hampshire. | 11. | 634.4 | | |
| 20. Vermont..... | 10. | 447.7 | | |
| 13. Massachusetts . | 7. | 109.5 | | |
| 6. Rhode Island.. | 1. | 40 | | |
| 8. Connecticut. .. | 3. | 47.7 | | |
| 9. New York..... | 4. | 62.4 | | |
| 7. Pennsylvania.. | 2. | 42 | | |
| 11. Ohio..... | 5. | 77.6 | | |
| 12. Indiana..... | 6. | 87.2 | | |
| 15. Illinois..... | 8. | 156.6 | | |
| | | | | One in |
| 1. Maryland. ... | 1. | 5.6 | 1. | 1.4 |
| 3. Virginia ..... | 3. | 16.5 | 2. | 8.7 |
| 4. North Carolina. | 4. | 20.2 | 3. | 10.5 |
| 5. South Carolina. | 5. | 30.7 | 7. | 43.2 |
| 16. Georgia ..... | 6. | 180 | 8. | 131.5 |
| 17. Alabama..... | 9. | 194 | 9. | 155.8 |
| 18. Mississippi.... | 10. | 328.5 | 10. | 344.4 |
| 2. Louisiana. .... | 2. | 14 6 | 4. | 14 |
| 14. Tennessee..... | 7. | 118.2 | 6. | 37.4 |
| 10. Kentucky..... | 6. | 76 | 5. | 21.1 |

In this point of view, Maryland enjoys what I deem the proud pre-eminence of being, of all the States, *the first* in friendliness towards the African. Next comes Louisiana, with its mild "code noir." Then follow Virginia and the Carolinas; and next, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New York. Then come Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Massachusetts; and then, at a considerable distance, Tennessee, Illinois, Georgia, and Alabama; then, at a still greater distance, Mississippi, the State which repudiates, at once, freedom and its just debts; lastly, and strange to say, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. I trust, the unfriendliness of the last three is more that of climate, than of the people.

In Maryland there is, of course, the most of assemblage, on the same soil, of European and free African. This State may therefore be adduced as the example of the mixture of the two races, without amalgamation, and I rejoice to add, with least oppression. The number of the free African proves the latter point. It is sad to think that where that oppression is least, it is still severe; for in Baltimore the free African is deprived of many of the previleges of the humblest citizen.

It is Louisiana—glorious Louisiana—that most excites my admiration. In this State, in which so much cotton and sugar are produced (see Table, p. 40), in which *slave-labour* is deemed so essential, *one* in every *fourteen* of the African people is—*free!* What a contrast with the adjacent anti-African, repudiating, Mississippi!

Next to Louisiana come Virginia and the two Carolinas, slave-States; and next to those, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New York, free States. There is nothing incompatible between the conditions of either the free, or the slave States, therefore, and freedom of the African race. The whole induction of facts goes to prove the feasibility of a just self-emancipation in all the States.

I leave this argument with you, only craving for it your best consideration. I trust, indeed, that all of every opinion will one day study, with us, the question of self-emancipation.

In addition to the degree of 'friendship' of Louisiana just noticed, I must mention another peculiarity. Its *code noir* is in some essential points milder than the other slave-codes.

In Louisiana the slave is considered as *real estate* and *immoveable;* the husband and wife, parent and child, cannot or ought not to be separated by *sale.* The tenure by which the slave is held is that of serfdom; the slave is attached to the soil.

If this law be still in force, there is no reason why holy marriage and the strictest relation between parent and child should not be ensured.

In this manner, Louisiana would again present a glorious distinction from the other slave-States. But if such a law be enforced in *one* State, why not in *all?* In this case a mitigation of United States slavery, of the most important kind, would be instantly accomplished.

The *code noir* of Louisiana is of French and of home, not of colonial, origin.

There are two views which may be taken of this subject:—Either the Gallic race is of a milder character than the boasted Anglo-Saxon, or it may be that the legislation of the mother country is milder than that of its colonial offsets. In either case will not the American native be moved by jealousy to imitate the milder legislation?

I must add, that in Maryland and Louisiana, the friendly States, some religious privileges are permitted —as baptism and extreme unction.

Is the Roman Catholic more lenient and just towards his slave than the Protestant?

Lastly, in Louisiana alone the slave may enjoy a *peculium*, that is, property, by the permission of his master.

Will not what I have written in this letter induce *some* of the people of the United States *to think?*

## LETTER XX.

*Homes for the Free African; friendly and unfriendly States.*

THERE is a more kindly feeling towards the African race in the *slave* States, than in the so-called *free*. The slave States afford a home to 238,187 free coloured persons; the free States, to 196,308 only.

Amongst the free States, Pennsylvania manifests the greatest sympathy for the African race. In an area of 47,000 square miles, Pennsylvania affords a home to 53,323 free of the African race.

Of the free States, Illinois is the least friendly towards the African. In an area of 55,409 square miles, Illinois affords a home to 5,435 free Africans only. I have already alluded to the '*Black*' legislation of this pretended free state.

On an area of 39,964 square miles, 15,445 *less* than that of Illinois, Ohio affords shelter and a home to 25,319 free Africans, or 19,884 *more!* Formerly, as I have stated, p. 94 , Ohio took part in '*Black*' legislation. This State must, in later years, have risen from its prejudice against the persecuted race.

It must be observed, that Ohio contains *twice* the number of white people contained by Illinois; but

it contains nearly *five times* the number of free of the African race.

New York State, of nearly the same area as Pennsylvania (46,000 square miles), and with a much greater white population, 3,097,394, only affords a home and protection to 49,069 of the free coloured, or 4,557 less than the 'friendly' State; for this is the well-earned title of Pennsylvania, a title far above any which riches or power can bestow.

I hail Ohio, glorious Ohio, as the *friendly* State amongst the newer States of the Union.

Amongst the slave States, Maryland has the glory of being by far the most *friendly*. With a population of 417,943, and an area of 11,000 square miles, only, it befriends 74,723 *free* persons of the African race!

In a future letter, I may enter into further details on this point. For the present, I recommend to your careful study, once more, the Table at pp. 38, 39. It would be interesting to calculate the ratios between the free African and the white and slave population, and the area of the States. We should then perceive the *degree* of liberality and generosity of each State, and know on whom our call to befriend the poor African should be especially made. One thing is required on the part of the people of the United States, in order, at once, to do justice to a race of people now oppressed, to heal the differences between the northern and southern States, to preserve the UNION, and to ward off all danger, however remote, of insurrection and servile war: it is, instead of an insensate prejudice, a heart-

felt FRIENDLINESS towards an oppressed race of fellow men. Let our motto be

*Friendliness towards the African,*

and ALL will be well.

Let us feel towards the African as we do or ought to do towards our old servant, or gardener, or bailiff, or tenant, or humbler neighbour; and nothing more. Let us remember that God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth; and that all *are* EQUAL before Him!

* * * * * *

I have stated in a former letter, that there are a greater number of *free* Africans in the slave, than in the free States, in the proportion of 238,187 to 196,308.

The greatest number in *any* State is in Maryland; viz. 74,723: and next, in Virginia; viz. 54,333. These numbers are also the greatest in proportion to the white population.

Are these facts, like slavery itself, results of climate?

Is the fact, in regard to Maryland and Virginia, *peculiar* to these two States?

It is a most interesting and important question—In which of the States, slave or free, is the free African most happy, and most useful?

Not less interesting is the question—Where, in the United States, or Canada, or in the West Indies, can we gain the most and best information respecting the association, without amalgamation, of the European and the African races?

## LETTER XXI.

*Self-Emancipation; successive Boons to the Slave.*

* * * * * *

THE first boon I would request for the poor slave is—*Marriage*—holy, indissoluble Marriage.

No one, having the slightest regard for religion, either in himself or his family, can refuse this first boon. And yet it is the uprooting of the tree which bears for its fruit the separation of husband and wife, of parent and child; and, as a direct consequence, of all slave-breeding.

The second boon I crave for the poor African slave is—*Education*—the faculty of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

By this means the slave will be enabled to read his Bible, to communicate with absent relatives and friends, and to keep his accounts. By this simple means he will be raised in the rank of human beings.

The next boon is the offer of *Freedom* on the condition of his working it out for himself, according to a well-devised and systematic arrangement.

This accomplished, the next boon is—*Wages*.

He becomes a peasant, a husbandman. His labour is free labour; but it is rewarded labour. From being languid, it has become energetic. He carries home to his wife and family its fruits. He clothes himself, his wife and his children, decently; especially on a Sunday.

I need not insist on the influence of clothing on the mind of every one, but especially of the African. Decent clothing raises the character, as rags and coarse attire depress and degrade it. Again, the African will be raised amongst the human family.

The fifth boon is — *the Rights of a Citizen.* The eligibility to serve on a jury, to vote, and give evidence; to acquire and possess property; to choose his abode in the length and breadth of the United States; &c.

What I see around me at this moment amongst the peasantry of Old England, I feel persuaded may be nobly and happily realized amongst the African race in the United States, slavery and oppression being alike uprooted.

*All* this will be achieved by *self*-emancipation, and could not be achieved by mere abolition. Immediate abolition could lead to no improvement in the condition of the African mind and character, and ruin might fall on slave, master, estate, and the nation. The preparation and discipline implied, in the system of self-emancipation, will raise the African character, secure his future good conduct, make him all that a citizen ought to be, and avert the coming evil of servile war.

## LETTER XXII.

*What shall we do to further Self-Emancipation?*

* * * * * *

In the preceding Letters I have given a brief account of the position and wants of the poor African slave in the United States.

What can be *done* to mitigate his sad condition?

In this Letter I shall attempt to answer this simple and practical question:

I would propose first, that in every place a *Society in Aid of the Self-Emancipation—the double Emancipation,—of the African slave in the United States* be established.

Let the *first* meeting be occupied with the recognition of such society, a statement of its objects, and an outline of its rules. Amongst the first of these objects should be the establishment of a *Library of Works* on Slavery in the United States, and of pro-slavery and anti-slavery efforts. For the first thing is to be well and truly informed.

The *second* meeting may be occupied with the discussion of the *active proceedings* of the Society. Some mode of *publication* should be adopted. An established

journal of liberal and generous principles may, at the first, be selected with this object.

The *third* object must be to establish branch societies over the land,—and in the United States.

The *fourth* object of the Society must be the appointment of wise and prudent persons to make the wants of the poor African slave *known*.

*Fiftly;* let respectful communications be made to the planters in the slave-State legislatures, always in such terms as shall absolutely exclude just offence. Let us *first* appeal to them instantly to establish *lawful and indissoluble marriage;* let us next implore them to establish *schools* for the *simplest education;* let us, in the third place, beg them to adopt some simple and generous plan of task-work and of over-work instead of day-work, explaining to the slave his privilege of self-emancipation; let us, fourthly, submit to them the proposed mode of proceeding in regard to the self-emancipated slave; &c. &c.

*Sixthly;* let us, in the name of religion, address the ministers of religion in the United States on the crime of the permitted or enforced adultery of the slaves, a point on which there can or ought to be no difference of opinion; and let us add plainly and simply *our* views on the other topics connected with this momentous matter, involving, at this moment, the well-being of three millions and a half of our fellow-men.

*Seventhly;* let us address the State legislatures of the free States, on the part of the so-called free African of the United States, imploring them to legislate gene-

rously towards him, leaving every kind of occupation freely open to him, and the public schools to his children.

*Eighthly;* let it be distinctly understood that the Society enters into no controversy, and will neither employ nor notice any vituperative epithets towards persons or things; its objects being to state the simplest truth, and work out the simplest justice to the poor oppressed African.

*Lastly; I propose that this little volume of Letters be sold, and that, after refunding the prime cost and remunerating the publisher, the profits be devoted to the good cause of the African. In this manner all can* AID *in the noblest cause that can occupy the human heart.*

And here, for the present, I conclude these Letters.

If my American friends could read my heart, they would not be displeased with me. I had, very early in life, friendly ideas towards the United States instilled into my mind. These have been confirmed by a personal acquaintance. Such a friendly feeling I should like to see prevail between England and the United States, without alloy. A great obstacle to such a feeling will be removed, when slavery disappears under the influence of a wise and efficient system of *Self-emancipation!*

# PART SECOND.

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## MY TOUR.

I MUST again apologize for repetitions of the same idea and expression in the preceding Letters and in the following Sketch.

I have another remark to make: if, in the numbers given in this little volume, there should be any discrepancy, it arises from their having been taken in part from the "Abstract of the Seventh Census," published some time ago, and in part from the "Seventh Census" itself, published more recently.

## CHAPTER I.

*My Tour: Washington; Baltimore; Philadelphia; the Ohio; Louisville; the Upper Mississippi; &c.*

* * * * * *

On February the 12th, 1854, we took our berths on board the Arabia, bound from Liverpool to New York, where we arrived safely on the 23rd.

The inauguration of the new President of the United States was appointed for the 4th of March following; we therefore speedily proceeded to Washington, the seat of the Federal Government, the capital of the slave District of Columbia, and the limit of the jurisdiction of Congress. We were much pleased with the simple pageantry of the inauguration, and gratified to see the many truly great men of the different States whom the occasion had assembled together.

Here I first became familiar with the sable countenances of our fellow-men and brethren of the African race. The little District of Columbia contained, in 1850, 51,687 inhabitants, of whom 3,687 were slaves. Here, in the very heart of the Union, man is bought and sold, as cattle are bought and sold. On this spot, where it is proudly maintained, since the 4th of July,

1776, that "all men are created equal," and "are endowed by their Creator with *inalienable* rights, amongst which are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness;" here, under the immediate eye of the capitol itself, *man* exists *with* ALL *his rights* ALIENATED, even those in regard to his wife and his child, who may be taken from him and sold away from him, (or he from them), never to be seen by him more!

From Washington we proceeded to Baltimore, the chief town, though not the capital, of the slave-State of Maryland. Here, on the 27th of March, I heard a black man preach: it was Easter Sunday, and he gave an interesting, not to say an admirable, historical account of the life of Christ. Here, too, I met, by the kindness of a friend, ten free persons of colour, and had the opportunity of asking them many questions relative to slavery, to their own condition, formerly as slaves and now as free; to their views of what was required for the good of their race in the United States, to abolition, colonization, &c. Never was my mind more impressed, or my heart more touched, than by this scene, and its varied disclosures. All appeared to me to speak reasonably, calmly, admirably. To my question—"What is most required for the African race in the United States?"—one person, as black as ebony, replied energetically and emphatically, "Education!" To my question—"What do you think of colonization?" a second observed with feeling—"We are Americans born; we love the land of our birth; time was when we shed our blood in its defence; *why*

should we be led or driven from it to a country, however known to our race, unknown to us ?"

At Baltimore, I had the inestimable advantage of meeting with Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe, the able President of the Colonization Society of Maryland, who on several occasions explained to us at length, and with great force and eloquence, his views and those of the Society at large; views, which at first appeared to me admirable, as they do indeed still in a certain sense, but which I soon discovered to be utterly inadequate to the great object of the emancipation of three millions and a half of our fellow-men from slavery and oppression. To these views I shall have occasion to revert hereafter. I will only now add, that the designs of this Society obviously relate to the *free*, not to the *slave*, and for the relief of the American, rather than for the benefit of the poor African. Now, it is the cause of the latter of which I would be the devoted advocate.

In Baltimore, I first witnessed the effects of that second slavery of oppression, the slavery of the so-called free African, of which I purpose to treat specially : in Baltimore, a person of colour, however said to be free, may not drive a dray, or guide a boat; and yet every one knows that in the performance of such offices he is most skilful.

From Baltimore we proceeded to Philadelphia. In this chief city of the *free* State of Pennsylvania, we again met with that second slavery of prejudice and oppression, pervading all classes, and still pursuing the poor African, who may have escaped from the first, in

all the (so called) free States of North America, to which I have just adverted. In Philadelphia, the African may not pursue the humble occupation of driver of an omnibus—this office being forcibly monopolized by the Anglo-Saxon to his exclusion, no one coming to his aid. Yet was it in this very city that the Act was signed, declaring man equal, with inalienable rights, and free!

From Philadelphia, to pursue the sketch of our tour, we passed along the railroad which conveyed us over inclined planes across the Alleghanies to Pittsburg. Here we witnessed the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, and the formation, by their conjunction, of the Ohio, truly "the beautiful river," as its Indian name implies, on whose waters we were to pass so many enjoyable and instructive hours, between banks of wood and verdure, and bright with the red and white flowers of the red-bud and the dog-wood. Along its course we passed between the free States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois on the north, and the slave-States of Virginia and Kentucky on the south, stopping at Cincinnati in the first, and at Louisville in the last of these, so comparing the free States and cities with the slave. In Cincinnati, I visited the factory of an African, who had invented a bedstead, formed on a new principle. He and his men were perfectly black. He was prosperous, and they steady and industrious. Who dare affirm, then, that this race are unequal to invention, manufacture, commerce, and industry?

From Louisville we made an excursion into the

interior of this slave-State, visiting the famous Mammoth cave, and observing the condition of the negro population in the course of our route. I am bound to say, that their condition is one of comfort, and that the slaves are generally, according to the phrase of Henry Clay, "fat and sleek." Indeed, viewed as *cattle*, I believe the slave is well treated, in general, in Kentucky. It is when we view him as *Man*, that we are shocked at the barbaric ignorance, degradation, and immorality in which he is kept. Nor must we cease to deplore the cruelty, the dissolution of the marriage and parental ties, to which, in this, as in all *slave-breeding* States, the African is exposed.

On reaching the mouth of the Ohio and the "Father of Waters," the great Mississippi, we began our ascent of the majestic river, staying at St. Louis, the capital of the slave-State, Missouri. On leaving St. Louis, we pursued our course between the noble "bluffs" or river-cliffs on each side of the stream, to St. Paul, St. Anthony and its Falls, and far north-west to Sauk Rapids, there, by the kind invitation of the governor of the territory (Minnesota), to witness the interesting scene of the meeting in a council of the chiefs of the Chippewa, Winnebago, and Sioux Indians, attended by two hundred and fifty of their people.

Returning to Galena, we took a carriage and crossed the "prairies," bounded by a sea-like horizon, on the northern part of the free State of Illinois (recently sullied by its "black-code" of laws against the free but still persecuted African, taking the lead in the

*excluding* States) to the newly-created city of Chicago.

I have frequently adverted to this second kind of oppression, by which the poor African is visited in the United States. In some of the States, termed free, in Ohio, in Indiana, but especially in Illinois, he is absolutely prohibited and excluded by State-law, and by recent State-law too, from taking up his abode and pursuing some humble calling of industry. If he attempt to do so, he is actually driven, or *sold*, from the state, re-sold into slavery! What words can adequately characterize such legislation? How truly is it said—"Homo homini aut Deus aut demon!" What a contrast does this Illinois present with Old England! In England, the moment the slave's foot touches the soil, he is free. In Illinois, the moment the free-man of colour touches the soil, of his own country too, even the country of his birth, he becomes—an alien, or—a slave!

And *thus* Illinois, on an area of 55,409 square miles, gives refuge and a home to 5,436 free coloured persons only; whilst the *friendly* State of Pennsylvania, over a space of only 47,000 square miles of surface, affords shelter to 53,626 of the persecuted freemen of the African race.

One thing only was required to fill up the measure of this iniquity, and this has been supplied by Kentucky. Within a few years, a new "Constitution" has been framed by this State, in one article of which it is enacted, that no one shall liberate a slave without con-

veying him out of the State! And whither, oh! whither could he convey him, if all the states should enact such a code as has recently been enacted by Illinois?

This persecution is as unreasonable too, as it is unjust. If the African really makes an able blacksmith, and carpenter, and builder, and if such artisans are needed in the United States, why should he be discarded? Why may not the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the bricklayer; the shoe-maker and the tailor; the grocer and the draper; the gardener and the farmer, be—*black?* And if the coloured man's talents fit him for higher stations and occupations, is it not unworthy of the proud Anglo-Saxon to oppose his feebler brother in his difficult career?

If this legislation be aimed at the idle and the dissolute amongst the coloured race, be it so; but let it be directed against misconduct and not against complexion, against the criminal and not against the race; and let us, by education and elevation, endeavour to *prevent* the crime we now punish.

## CHAPTER II.

*My Tour continued: Niagara; Canada; New York.*

* * * * * *

But I must quit the subject of the second slavery in the United States for the present, as we did Chicago, pursuing our course along the lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie, to Buffalo, and thence to the Falls of Niagara!

On this route, the narrow water which divides the State of Michigan from the village of Amhurstberg in Canada—that narrow water, so often crossed with a palpitating heart by the poor fugitive slave—had the most intense interest for us.

In Canada, even the poor African is no longer pursued by the demons, slavery or persecution. But, alas! its rigorous climate is little suited to the constitution of the refugee from the south, and pneumonia and tubercle are apt to shorten his days. How inscrutable are the ways of Providence!

In Buffalo, I met with a negro who had been a fugitive from slavery many years. It was proposed to sell him to the south, parting him from his wife and two children. He resolved not to be so sepa-

rated from them, and ran away. His affection for them remains unabated; he has tried to purchase them, but they are not to be sold! He has remained a widower; his fears are for his daughter, now seventeen years of age, lest she should become the mistress of her master, who has several families!

Having satiated our eyes with the tossed and foaming rapids, the mass of sea-green water moving to the edge of the precipice, the majesty and beauty of its Falls, and listened with awe and delight to their sublime thunder—the "Thunder of Waters," according to the poetic phrase of the Indian—I left Niagara and obeyed a professional summons to proceed to Hamilton, and thence took the steamer on Lake Ontario for Toronto. Here I was deeply interested in the noble designs and deeds of the Anti-Slavery Society, and especially in the active part which the *ladies* take in the good work of succour to the most persecuted of the human race. How noble is the effort here made to provide safe shelter for the poor fugitive! How did it gladden our hearts to hear of Elgin, and of the other "stations," where he at last finds a home and safety.

Leaving Toronto, we passed along lake Ontario, and descended the St. Lawrence, passing over its fearful "rapids," and arrived at Montreal. We thence proceeded to Quebec, pinnacled, with its citadel, on its most beautiful heights. Leaving Quebec in its turn, we passed still further down the St. Lawrence, in view of the beautiful falls of Montmorency, and ascended the Saguenay. But, alas! east of Toronto, I met with

no one who cared for the poor African fugitive and refugee!

We returned to Montreal, passed along Lakes Champlain and George, staying at the latter. We then proceeded to Saratoga, passing Glen's Falls, a pretty scene on the early Hudson. We then descended the noble Hudson itself, staid a few days at West Point, and then proceeded to New York.

A visit to Newport, New Bedford, and Boston, and a rather long stay at New York on our return, brought us to the early part of October.

In connection with New York, I must mention, that in Flushing and Jamaica, both in Long Island, there are two colonies of free Africans, of about three hundred and two hundred respectively, left by the abolition of slavery. They are in the most degraded and wretched condition, living on a few clams (oysters) gathered by the shore, and by begging. They are ignorant, ragged, forlorn, and ready to famish, in the midst of surrounding abundance, for want of the necessaries and comforts of life. These facts were communicated to me by an eye-witness, a medical friend.

Such is the result of abolition without education, discipline, elevation,—preparation, in a word. Such, or worse, would be the fate of the three millions and a half of our fellow men in the south, if immediate "abolition," irrespective alike of antecedents and of consequences, were enacted.

At New York, I had the great advantage of much conversation with the venerable Mr. W. Jay, the staunch

and steady advocate, through life, of *abolition*. His countenance is the picture of his heart, beaming with benignity. But abolition, immediate and unprepared abolition, without education, without discipline, without drilling, without elevation, would only lead to a treble ruin—that of the plantation, that of its owner, and that of the slave himself. It would repeat the disastrous experiment of Jamaica. Another and a totally different kind of Emancipation is required.

The slave must be *prepared* for *freedom*, and not only for freedom, but for *station*. The free African is now viewed and described as a "nuisance." Why is he a nuisance? Because State law has bound him in the iron bonds of ignorance! Natural effect of a natural cause. But let education have its benign and glorious influence, and the African will justify the exalted opinion I have formed and given of him.

## CHAPTER III.

*My Tour continued: Richmond; Charleston; Savannah; the Alabama; Mobile.*

* * * * * *

We now revisited Washington, repasssing rapidly through Philadelphia and Baltimore, and began our tour through the slave-States of the south. Leaving Washington, we took the steamer which plies on the Potomac to Acquia creek, and afterwards continued our course by railroad to Richmond, the capital of the slave-State, and—proh pudor!—the *slave-breeding*-State of Virginia.

At Richmond, I visited rooms in which human beings are regularly and publicly put up to sale by auction, as horses are at Tattersall's. I saw no sale; but I saw several young persons of both sexes placed on the rostrum of the auctioneer, and their good qualities declared and their *warranty* pronounced. I beheld with my own eyes a man, a seeming purchaser, go and examine a poor African girl, aged about sixteen, grasping her arms and placing his coarse hand on her bosom!

There was a private room for still more minute and private examinations, if the poor creature had been purchased.

Ye women of the United States, does not the blood come into your cheeks on reading my simple narrative? And will you not lend a helping hand to rescue your sex from such gross treatment?

At Richmond, we went to the "African Church." Here a thousand Ethiopians stretched forth their hands and raised their voices to God—to God who is "no respecter of persons." I said in my heart—I would rather be one of these poor Africans in their slavery, thinking little of "the sufferings of the present time," than of the Anglo-Saxons, their owners and masters. A white man catechized and addressed the congregation, of whom not one held a book in his hands. A black man prayed—simply and earnestly.

Whilst at Richmond, I was kindly invited to visit a gentleman, the hospitable owner of a plantation on the James River. I visited the "cabins" of the negro-slaves, and saw them at their daily occupations in the farm-yard and in the corn-fields. Their physical comfort and well-being appeared to me to be perfect.

Two incidents are interwoven with the slave-history of Virginia:

First; in the legislature of this slave-State a project was agitated and nearly carried, about twenty years ago, the object of which was the abolition of slavery. The movement is said to have been frustrated by the

violent abolition attacks and proceedings in the north, which occurred about that time.

Secondly; it was in this State that the Colonization Society took its origin. It is important, in discussing the merit of this project, to distinguish between measures which contemplate the mere removal of the free African, and those which propose the emancipation of the slave, and the abolition of slavery. The former of these projects is as selfish as the latter is generous and noble. The former can only rank with the "black code" of Illinois; the latter would be the glory of the Union.

From Richmond to Charleston in South Carolina, and from Savannah in Georgia to Macon, and even to Montgomery in Alabama, the railroad took us over more than six hundred miles of a monotonous, marshy level, through "pine barrens." The bark of the pines or fir-trees had been artistically cut away at the lowest part for the exudation of turpentine. One part of our route in Virginia is designated "the dismal swamp;" but the epithet might well apply to the whole of our long journey from Richmond to Montgomery. Such, too, doubtless is a great part of the interior of the five slave-States through which our course lay, in whose "dismal" and deep and secret recesses, containing, as in an enormous prison spread over 239,574 square miles of surface, nearly two millions (1,870,134) of enslaved human beings, who can say, what deeds of darkness, of immorality and cruelty are enacted?

Along this route I caught glimpses of the huts and "cabins," and of the coarse and often dirty and ragged clothing of the poor negro-slave, where no eye of man can penetrate to see and pity him, and I thought them miserable; not in a sense to affect his health or length of life, however; for in these climes scarcely shelter or clothing at all is required; but in regard to all that we consider as comfortable, cleanly, seemly, and fit for men. One day of our journeying was Sunday. Even on this holy day I observed the slave leaning listlessly against a wall or a tree, dirty, ragged, and forlorn, reminding me of the very lowest order of our own Irish; his hat, crushed into every shapeless form, was the same. His clothes were greasy and glossy from long wear.

Three incidents occurred to me on this journey, two at Charleston, the other at Savannah. At Charleston, I called on a friend, and was admitted by a bright-looking negro boy of about twelve years of age; he knew neither letters nor figures. When at Charleston, we paid a visit to a plantation a few miles from the city. Eight or ten negresses were threshing rice in the farm-yard, watched over by a negro with a whip in his hand. We walked into a coppice or wood, where we met three negro children, two girls and a boy, gathering fire-wood. I asked the eldest of the party if she could read. She replied that she could not. I then asked her if she could sing, and she said—yes. I begged her to sing to me. She sang a hymn, in which the other little girl joined, and to which the boy at appro-

priate times added his little gruff voice. The little trio and the whole scene were deeply touching. At Savannah, a negro-slave's wife having been absent for a time, in attendance on her mistress, the husband proposed to take another wife. The idea of marriage, in the poor negro's mind, is in the highest degree vague. How should it be otherwise, when the master or an executor may separate husband and wife for ever, by sale, when each may contract another alliance of the same equivocal, or rather unequivocally adulterous character?

From Montgomery we descended the Alabama to Mobile, witnessing the shipping of cotton-bales innumerable. On our way, it was the fate of a poor negro to fall over-board. With the utmost speed the steamer was stopped and a boat lowered; but the poor man could not swim, and was lost. In the midst of the confusion, one lady loudly offered a reward to any one who would save him, thinking the poor slave her own. She was instantly pacified on learning that he belonged to another. When all was over, one gentleman observed—"There is a dead loss of one thousand dollars to some one." Not a feeling of commiseration for the unfortunate man was expressed by any one. It was precisely such a state of things as would have been called forth by the case of a drowning horse. Familiarity with slavery inhumanizes the heart.

At one part of the Alabama River, the steamer stopped, and we received as a passenger a fine, upright person, of quiet, dignified, gentlemanly demeanour, and

well dressed. He was black as ebony. I soon lost sight of him, for he was absolutely without ostentation. On inquiry, the captain informed me that he was the favourite and trusty servant of a rich cotton-planter, and that he was going on business to Mobile or New Orleans. He was frequently entrusted with large sums of money and business of importance. How many such noble-minded men are kept in the depths of slavery, little higher than the brute in knowledge, in this very State!

At Mobile, we visited the tents which sheltered a remnant of the Choctaw Indians. Idleness and drunkenness seem to be their characteristics.

For the pure Indian, I see no hope. But the African is capable of every thing:—fidelity, loyalty, industry, enterprise, elevation, greatness. In the United States he is, first, necessary; secondly, unavoidable; and thirdly, in every way desirable, whether viewed as peasant, artisan, or citizen. This is my profound conviction.

## CHAPTER IV.

*My Tour continued: New Orleans; Havana; the Lower Mississippi; the Ohio.*

* * * * * *

We now proceeded to New Orleans. Here I visited several rooms, shops, or "pens," over which sign-boards, inscribed with the words "slaves on sale," were displayed. In two of these, a fiddle was constantly making, what were to my own ear at least, discordant sounds, I suppose to lull or amuse the miserable inmates, who are still, in their degradation, pleased with the noise of that mockery of the guitar, the banjo, and of the fiddle.

At one of these pens, I was shown a pretty boy, a quadroon, a native of New Orleans, about ten years of age, who spoke French. After a little time, and as I was preparing to depart, he said earnestly—"Achetez-moi." He little knew the emotion his simple but imploring words produced in me.

In New Orleans, I was taken by a medical friend to see a poor negro girl, aged fourteen, nursing her infant! The father must have been white.

In this city, too, I cut out of a daily paper an advertisement for the sale of an infant, a "griffe," eleven months old.

By means of similar advertisements, I learnt how many other slave-States, besides Virginia, possess the derogatory distinction of being slave-breeding, or at least slave-trading, States. Slaves were advertised for sale from Maryland, North and South Carolina, Missouri, and Kentucky. One advertisement was headed, "Carolina Slaves." Miss Bremer, speaking of the slaves to be sold in one of the slave-marts in New Orleans, says—"My inquiries of these poor human chattels were confined to the question—Whence they came? Most of them replied—from Kentucky and Missouri."—Homes in the New World, ii, p. 203.

This slave-breeding, this internal slave-trade of the United States has never, I think, been exposed in its just colours. It is, as it must needs be, the source of the most degrading immoralities amongst the poor negresses of the tenderest age. I have much to say on this topic of the most fearful interest. And yet ministers of religion, said to be of Christ, are found to defend slavery—the slavery, too, of which such immoralities form a part, and in which indissoluble marriage has no existence!

Whilst at New Orleans, we paid a visit to a sugar plantation, crossing the Mississippi, and driving along the right bank of the river for the space of ten miles. It was Sunday. On our way we saw several fields of the sugar-cane, in one of which negro slaves were busy

cutting. At one spot we observed eight or ten negresses at work on the river bank, or "levée," with spades; a negro stood by with a heavy whip in his hand; and after a time a white man rode up to them. I supposed the group to consist of working slaves, the driver, and the overseer.

From New Orleans we took the steam-packet for Havana, descending the lowest part of the Mississippi, crossing the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico, and safely arriving just within the tropics.

On the banks of the river are observed many sugar plantations. On one of these, besides the "great house," several smaller residences, and the "factory," I counted fifty negro "cabins," constituting the "village."

In Cuba there exist, or did exist, a slavery and a slave-trade with which those of the United States, all-grievous as they are, are mildness itself. But it is said that this slavery has recently undergone much mitigation.

In the United States, the life of the slave has been cherished and his offspring promoted. In Cuba the lives of the slaves have been "used up" by excessive labour, and increase in number disregarded. It is said, indeed, that the slave-life did not extend beyond eight or ten years, and that from this cause, and causes worse still, the slave population, which augments so rapidly in the United States, constantly tends to become extinct in Cuba, and is only maintained by importation, through a continued slave-trade with Africa! This is accomplished in spite of all the treaties and engagements

between England and Spain, and all the vigilance of British cruisers.

The population of Cuba in 1851 was 3,023,743, of which 322,519 were slaves. Of the latter, I believe six-sevenths are of the male sex; and I am credibly informed that on some plantations there are hundreds of males without one single female. No wonder that this beautiful island has become as Sodom or Gomorrah.

The Africans in Cuba consist of bozals, or Africans born; ladinos, or such as can speak the Spanish language; and emancipados, or such as are by right free. We observed many on the quay who were tattooed, and ignorant of the Spanish language, and, of course, of recent importation.

On returning from Havana, and re-ascending the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to New Orleans, we again observed the extensive plantations on the banks of the river. The "great house," the "factory" where the sugar is expressed from the cane and evaporated, the overseer's house, the out-houses, and the "cabins," constituted together the little hamlet. The cabins varied in number, according to the size of the plantation and the number of the slaves. They usually occupy parallel lines, and form a square, constituting what in Cuba would be called a barracoon, an arrangement little better than a large prison. Each cabin appeared, however, better than the more scattered ones which we had seen in the Carolinas and Georgia.

Near some of these "villages," as the assemblage

of cabins is called, we saw the negro-slaves at work in the fields, under the supervision of the overseer armed with his whip.

On returning to New Orleans, I took the opportunity of revisiting the slave marts, and especially that which is held on Saturday at noon, in the rotunda of the St. Louis Hotel. There were half a dozen auctioneers pursuing their vocation, and as many parties of slaves, of both sexes, for sale. One poor mother hugged her little girl, about nine years old, who looked up in her parent's face apparently wondering at her tears. Being asked the age of the child, she replied that she did not know, and earnestly added, that they were to be sold *together*, denoting what thought occupied her mind.

I wandered from party to party, and wondered how *men* could be found to engage in such traffic in their fellow men.

On the 17th of March, I visited the prison in New Orleans, and saw the place where the offending negroes and negresses are sent to be whipped, the table-like board to which they are affixed, hand and foot, for the purpose, and the cow-hide, the whip, and the "paddle" by which the lash is applied. The cow-hide is not used in the prison; the whip is a fearful instrument, drawing blood at every stroke; the paddle consists of a piece of leather one-sixth of an inch in thickness, two inches in breadth, and twenty in length, attached to a whip-handle—a frightful instrument of torture, raising blisters.

The lash is applied by order of the negro's master, of a magistrate, or of a country justice.

On the following day, I again visited the prison. When in a distant apartment, I heard loud human cries, and hastened to the spot, and then partly witnessed the infliction of the "paddle" on a poor negro. He was about forty-five years of age. He lay prone on the board, tied to it by the hands and feet. The lash was suspended when we arrived on the scene, and the master, a Frenchman, about thirty years of age, was talking to his poor victim. He had been suspected of theft, and had been ordered to go supperless to bed, when he ran away. He declared that he knew nothing of the stolen or lost articles. It was for running away that he was punished. After a short parley, the master, judge and jury in one, said, "Give him five more." It was these that I saw inflicted. The instrument struck over the glutei, induced violent contractions in these muscles at each stroke; and induced yells such as had brought us to the scene. The poor man was at length released, drew on his clothes, flew to the pump for thirst, and finally followed his master home.

Such a brutal scene of despotism inflicting indignity on a helpless fellow-mortal, I never beheld, and trust in my God never to behold again.

On Saturday, March the 17th, we left New Orleans to ascend the Mississippi. The course of this mighty stream between New Orleans and the Ohio may be divided in general into three regions; the first,

that from New Orleans to Natchez, or the region of sugar chiefly; the second, that from Natchez to Columbia, and from this to Memphis, or the region of cotton; the third, that between Memphis and Cairo, in which cotton, tobacco, maize, and pine wood grow. The whole comprises seven degrees of latitude, from 30° to 37°, and forms a slave region.

On each bank of the river we observed plantations with their "great house," the sugar factory, or the cotton press, and the "cabins." In the lower part of this region, the numbers of the African race exceed those of the Anglo-Saxon. As we ascend, these numbers are reversed. Often, as we approached the banks of the river, we saw the negroes at their cabins; and I often thought to myself—How many of you poor negroes have been "sold south" to this very spot, separated from wife and child? And how would education and discipline, marriage, freedom, wages, raise you from your present condition of *cattle* to your rank of—*men!*

Above Princetown we passed many plantations reputed large and fine. Near one of them, a gentleman rode up near the river bank, armed with a whip, too large for his own horse. Of course its real use was left to conjecture.

At the mouth of the Ohio our *tour* was completed. How much have we seen full of the deepest interest? One dark shadow rests upon it! Shall it not be removed?

* * * * * *

And, now, when I take a retrospect of all my observations and inquiries, I feel that a great good is to be accomplished for the United States, both as to its fame and its true greatness.

Who can deny that slavery is an odious injustice? What nation then, which contains slaves, can escape odium and reproach? Who can deny that oppression of the feeble and helpless is mean and cowardly? What nation, containing an oppressed people, can escape censure and contumely?

Let us raise and emancipate the poor African slave in the United States; yes, and the poor free African; and a frightful wound will be healed!

This one thing is especially wanted to render the "great republic" what I sincerely wish it to be, prosperous, happy, and honoured; *then* will all good men say of it—

*Esto Perpetua!*

FINIS.

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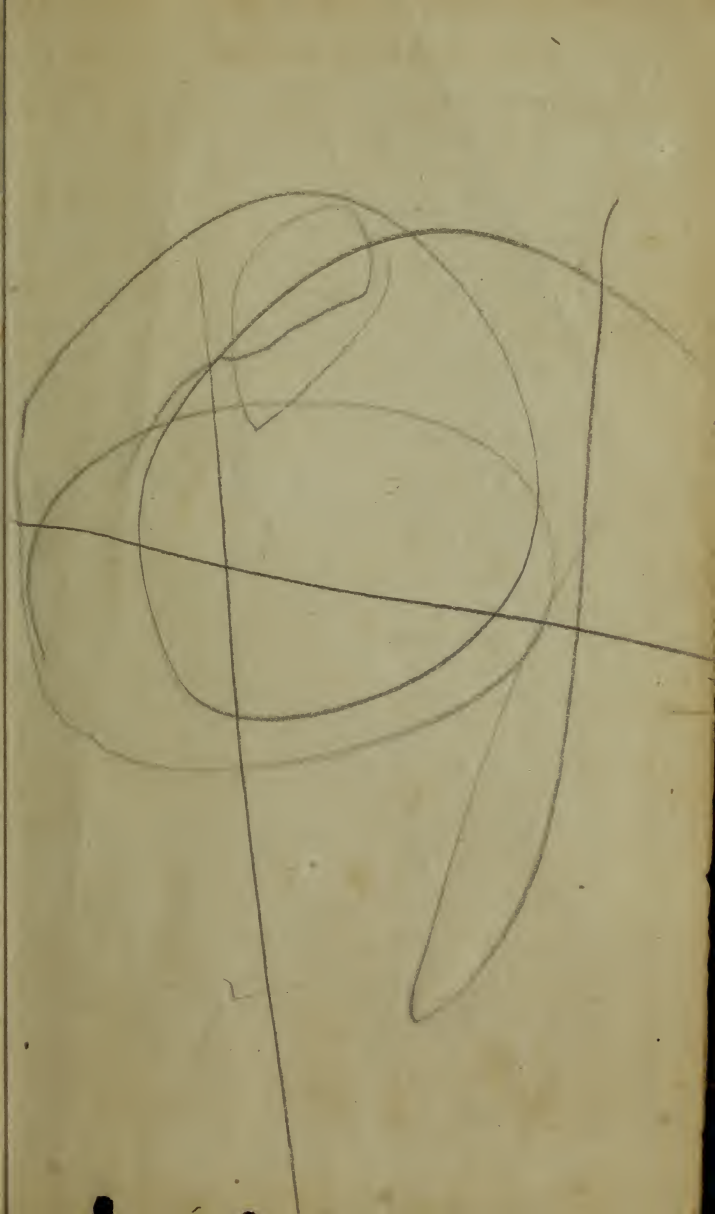

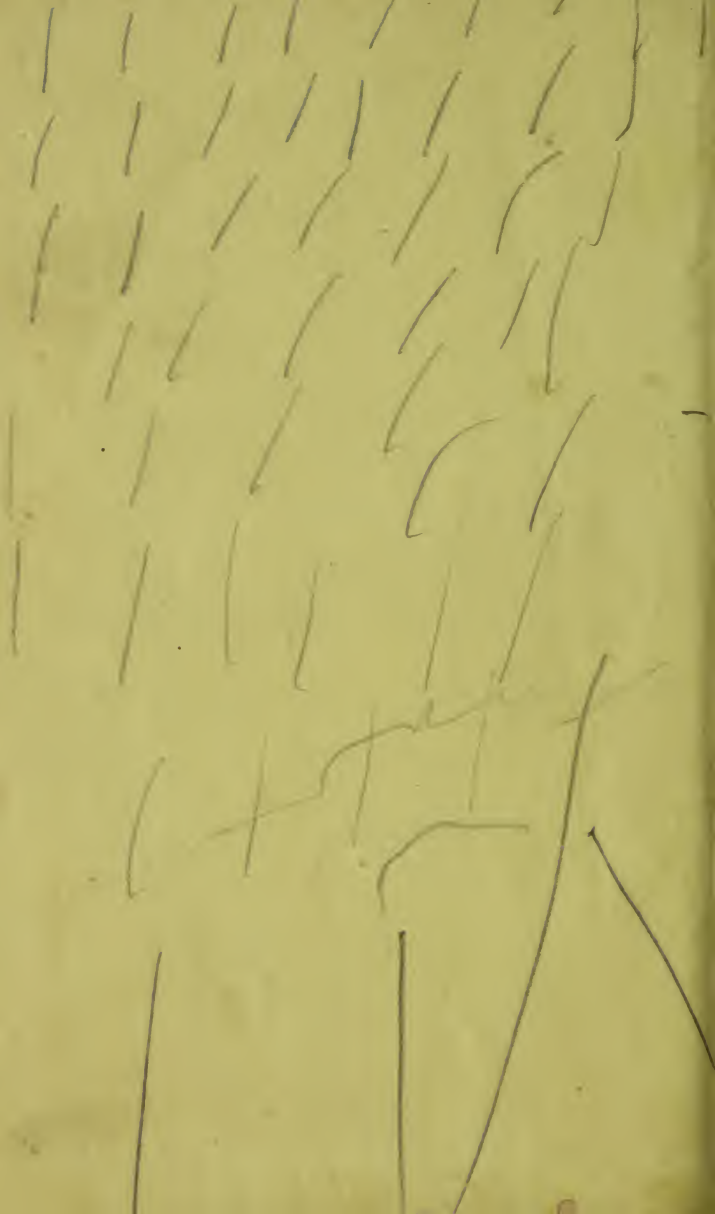

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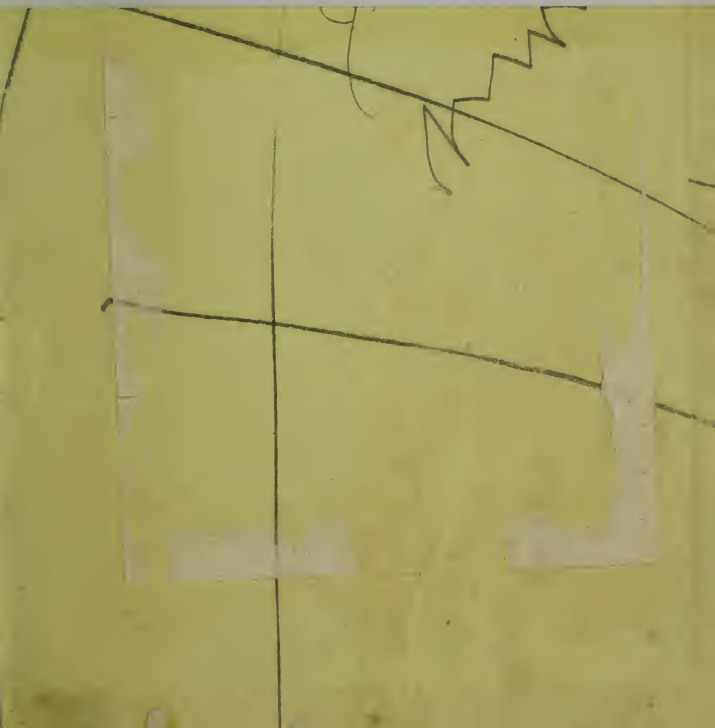
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